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GATHORNE HARDY

FIRST EARL OF CRANBROOK

VOLUME II.



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Oct. 1. 1904

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GATHORNE HARDY

FIRST EARL OF CRANBROOK

A MEMOIR

WITH EXTRACTS
FROM HIS DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

EDITED BY THE HON.
ALFRED E. GATHORNE-HARDY

WITH PORTRAITS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

TWO VOLS.—VOL. II.

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LIFE OF
THE EARL OF CRANBROOK

CHAPTER XIX

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS (1876)

THE great change which occurred at the close of the Session of 1876 marked a turning-point in Gathorne Hardy's career. The numerous indications of the weakness and ill-health of Disraeli had prepared his lieutenant for the probability of his retirement from the House of Commons, and even for the possibility of his relinquishing political life altogether. Only his dauntless spirit and strong sense of duty had kept him in harness so long; he yielded, as will be seen, to the urgent pressure of his Royal Mistress and his devoted followers, so far as to consent to continue his tenure of the Premiership, but was compelled to abandon the heavy labour and late hours necessitated by the duties of the House of Commons. It would be idle to deny that my father had for some time looked forward, with mixed feelings, to the prospect of succeeding to the lead of the House of Commons in the event of his Chief's retirement. He had repeatedly taken his place as deputy on the occasions of his temporary absence. Disraeli had described him as his 'right hand.' It would not become me to discuss the merits of the choice ultimately made, or its effect upon the fortunes of the party. The correspondence shows the difficulty Disraeli had in making a choice, and the manner in which the

position was accepted by my father. This much I may be allowed to add, that he never fought for his own hand, and that, having accepted the position, he followed the lead of Sir Stafford Northcote with the utmost loyalty and whole-heartedness, and discountenanced any attempt on the part of others to put the claims of the two in competition. To the end he remained the warm personal friend and loyal supporter of the new leader, and, to anticipate the events of many years afterwards, he volunteered eagerly to vacate his position of President of the Council in his favour, when circumstances compelled his relinquishment of the Foreign Office in 1887. His motive in not acceding to the request of a large and influential memorial, signed by more than 150 members of his party in the House of Commons, to suspend his acceptance of the honour of a Peerage, was a disinclination to give any scope for the least suspicion of a divided empire. I leave it to others to discuss the reasons of Mr. Disraeli's choice, and its effect upon the fortunes of the party. Had the choice been different I question very much whether our family would have been blessed with his loving companionship for another thirty years, during twenty of which he exercised great influence in the councils of the nation. Perhaps the best comment is his own, written in 1892:

S.—'The chief event affecting me in 1876 was Beaconsfield's removal to the Lords at the end of the Session, and the arrangement as to the leadership in the Commons. His last speech there was on August 11. I am far from disputing the wisdom of selecting Northcote for the post which he left, but it changed my position altogether. I can truly say that I served as steadily and faithfully to the new leader as I had done to the old. No doubt I was disappointed, but only for the moment, and though possibly ambition has not been so gratified as it might have been, happiness and home have gained by my more humble position. How often

have others regretted that I was not the chosen man!—but I doubt whether my temper or health would have stood the strain: at all events, now I have no regrets.'

S. 1893.—'Whether I was politically wrong in going to the Lords I know not, but I would not have been made leader of a section, or been disloyal to the chosen leader in the Commons, with whom I never ceased to be on the most cordial terms. We acted with entire unanimity, but he had his enemies who would have tried to make use of me for an instrument. At all events I am clear that my health would not long have been equal to the strain, and the lighter work in the Lords has been the means of my preserving it, and my being far more with my family.'

I now give the details of the episode as they appear in the Diary and correspondence:

D. June 27, 1876.—'Cairns hinted to me yesterday that Disraeli is contemplating removal to the Upper House; probably after the Session. What would follow? I do not, in thinking of it, see my way very clearly. He would not be a great force in the Lords, and how should we be in the Commons?'

D. July 11.—'I am in some wonder as to what Disraeli wants to say to me. He is to come here at 12.30. I guess something as to his retirement from the House of Commons which I feel pretty sure that he contemplates. What part will he wish me to take?'

D. July 12.—'Let me jot down what passed at the interview with Disraeli. He began by saying that he felt, without having any serious illness, that his bronchial gout was most depressing, and that it made him lethargic and unfit for late hours. He told the Queen before she left for

Scotland that he wished to retire altogether. She was much troubled, and begged him to reconsider. At that time he did not speak of his successor, but had thought of Derby, and that I should lead in the House of Commons, but all this was not mentioned to her, as matters never got so far. She left for Scotland in great perturbation of mind, wishing him to go to the Lords and keep his place. He said that any honour that she might think proper to bestow he should receive as a mark of satisfaction with his services, &c.

'He had no further conversation with her until Saturday last, as he had rather avoided it, as his mind was not made up. He had had long experience of the House of Commons, and knew it, but he did not know that he should like a new atmosphere; and in the meantime he had sounded Derby, who utterly scouted the idea of his being Premier. That he (Derby) could never manage H.M., that he did not think he could lead his colleagues on Church questions; in short, that nothing on earth would make him take the post. Added to this he threw out that he would not act with anyone else. This of course changed the conditions of things. I expressed my deep regret, foresaw great difficulties, but no solution presented itself to me but his retention of his place with a seat in the Lords; and to this I expect it will come. He spoke very fully and confidentially, and, I judged, had as a necessity, for the time being, determined to retain his post, and probably at his interview with the Queen to-day a decision will be come to, though not to be carried into effect until the end of the Session.'

'He permitted me to speak to Cairns, and in the afternoon I did so for a short time; and he had obviously advised as I had. He was not, as I was not, surprised at Derby's determination. He withdraws more and more, and feels

his unfitness to lead men. Cairns said that he doubted if he would serve under him. Now for my part. Nothing passed in any way to settle it, and Disraeli only in passing mentioned his view, upon which I said nothing, as, without fixing anything, he spoke of Beach for the Cabinet. Cairns evidently to me, while he suggested that my work as War Secretary was very heavy, and said that if I gave it up I should break up the Government (in which I do not at all agree), meant to convey to me the opinion that the lead of the House would be too trying in conjunction with it. My impression was that Disraeli who had been with him had talked of this, and that he has other designs, to be made smooth to me in that way. I only hope that he will speak out if it is so. I cannot quite make up my mind what I wish—what is, I think, due to me—and what will be best for the party. I shall have time to consider, but after all I do not expect that the arrangement will last very long. Disraeli clearly feels his strength failing, and, though the Lords will be a certain relief, yet possibly the change may be chilling and all the responsibility will remain. I shall see Cairns again when we have more time, and hope at least he will not hide his wishes.'

D. July 16.—'I had a short conversation with Disraeli after the Cabinet yesterday as to his interview with the Queen. Nothing had been decided, and he said that sacrifices which he would willingly make for his party could be only of temporary use, as he should break down. Nothing, he said, should be done without my approval—more than mere consent. Her Majesty, however, would not hear of my leaving the War Office, as she had more confidence in me than in any previous Minister. (This is D.'s report; what does he wish himself?) I had a long talk with the

Duke of Richmond, but did not get much advice. I wonder if they *want* me to decline a task to which I am assumed to have a right. Without telling anything, I questioned Stewart' (his eldest son) 'at night as to what the party might feel in certain contingencies. Of course he was interested, and would not have heard anything adverse to me. After all I could, at least he assumed so, go up and rest if I found the work too much; I must think more.'

D. August 3.—'The great event which will form a crisis in my political career was the final decision as to the leadership of the House of Commons. I had gone down to the House when a box from Disraeli containing a very long letter reached me. Its tone was as usual very kind towards me, but it was clear that he considered Northcote's office, and more constant communication with the House and its members on a variety of subjects, marked him for the position which he is about to give up. I spoke to Cross, but did not gain much from him, and then I thought it best to speak directly to Northcote, which I did with perfect frankness: telling him that I did not give up my claims without reluctance, more on account of others than myself. Monty Corry had seen him and let him know the tenor of the letter to me, and practically what would be the result of it. I rather doubt whether this was right. However, after our conversation I shook hands with him, and wrote to Disraeli at once: not I fear a very good letter but just the expression of what was in my mind. I gave him notice that at no distant period I should ask to be removed from the House of Commons and from my present office, the unpleasantnesses of which are many. Time will show the result of these arrangements, in the meanwhile I shall go on as before in all respects. Jane will be disappointed, and it is for her I feel, for my indolence

will probably be gratified by not holding the responsible place.'

The correspondence follows. Mr. Disraeli's letter of August 2 fills four quarto sheets and is written with unusual care. I omit the first portion, as it deals fully with his reasons for retirement, and for accepting a Peerage, which are more germane to his own life than to that of my father. It concludes as follows:

'Of the many anxious points connected with this subject, there is none more grave than the management of the House of Commons after my departure. The choice can only be between yourself and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. You both entered the Privy Council and the Cabinet on the same day, and almost at the same time you were both promoted to Secretaryships of State. In commanding eloquence your superiority is quite acknowledged, while in transacting the various business of the House, the fact of his having no heavy department to engross him and the miscellaneous character of his duties have necessarily placed him in this Ministry in more frequent communication with the members.

'In mentioning your name to the Queen, I observed that the heavy duties of your office might be incompatible with the management of the House of Commons, and I said that some arrangement might be made to meet perhaps this difficulty, but the Queen expressed herself very strongly as to her personal wish that you should not leave the Army, saying that you possessed her entire confidence, and that there was no person, in that respect, to whom she could extend equal trust.

'I feel much the responsibility of life in the step which I am probably about to take, and I regret that my original

purpose has not been practicable: but I am going to Osborne in a few days, and I must go to her with a definite plan.

'I speak to you without the slightest reserve, and an anxiety to meet your wishes in every practicable way. I acknowledge your claim to that consideration on public grounds, but believe me, I also extend it from a deep respect for your character, and from a strong personal regard.

'Oblige me then by communicating to me in the same spirit, and assist me by your advice in one of the most difficult passages of my life.

'Yours sincerely,

'B. DISRAELI.'

'*Confidential.*

'HOUSE OF COMMONS.

'*August 2, 1876.*

'MY DEAR DISRAELI

'You know my opinion as to yourself and the necessity for your continuing to be the head of the Administration. This I see with the deepest regret cannot be if the labours of the House of Commons are added to those which the Premiership entails. It seems therefore the best, and indeed the only course for you to accept the seat in the House of Lords which the Queen suggested to you. For myself I told you personally that I would act upon any indication of your wishes, and it is impossible to read your letter without seeing that Northcote's office and qualifications, which no one admits more fully than I, point him out to you as your successor in the House of Commons. I will

not disguise from you that I feel a certain pang of disappointment at this practical limit to my career, but I am sufficiently doubtful of my fitness for the post, and so satisfied with the selection of Northcote, that I am prepared to work under him as loyally as I have always done with yourself.

'At the same time in an office for which I have no predilection but the reverse, and under these new conditions, I shall probably ask at no distant period to be relieved from it, and to follow you into a more tranquil sphere. I hope that in saying this I put forward no pretensions which you will think ill-founded, but I have so many home and other ties, now broken by the claims of office, that I may fairly look forward to relinquishing the latter when I can do so without unfairness to my colleagues and the party.

'I am deeply obliged to you for the frankness and consideration with which you have treated me, and I can promise that while serving under you, you will find no difference in the future from the past.

'Believe me,

'Yours very sincerely,

'GATHORNE HARDY.'

Disraeli to Gathorne Hardy.

'*Confidential.*

'*August 3, 1876.*

'MY DEAR HARDY

'You have sent me a most generous letter, and yet I read it with pain.

'Whatever had been your decision I should have attempted to carry it into effect. I cannot pretend to decide myself on the merits of such claimants. All that

I feel is that, under either, the party would have been managed with ability and honour.

'I shall show your letter to the Queen, and I need not say that every wish of yours so far as I am concerned will be gratified, and I shall rejoice in their gratification.

'Yours sincerely,

'D.'

Northcote to Hardy.

'*Private.*

'36 HARLEY ST.

'*August 2, 1876.*

'MY DEAR HARDY

'You will, I am sure, have understood that it was more difficult for me to speak to you to-day than it was for you to speak to me. But I cannot refrain from writing to you one line to say how very sincerely I appreciated your kindness. The whole of this business has been very trying and embarrassing to me, and personally I should have felt happier with a different solution. But I trust that, whatever course things may take, there may be no diminution in our personal friendship, and that we may be able to work cordially together. I feel very sensible of my own unfitness in many respects for the higher duties of the leadership, though I have no fear as to the business portion of the work. If I did not feel assured that I had your cordial assistance, I should shrink from undertaking the post: but I believe that working together we may be able to serve the party. I hate writing about things of this kind, but I could not go to bed without saying these few words.

'Yours very truly,

'S. H. NORTHCOTE.'

Hardy to Northcote.

'*August 3, 1876.*

'MY DEAR NORTHCOTE

'If I act with you, depend upon it that I shall act cordially, and no personal considerations would prevent my doing my duty to you and the party, even if they existed. There are difficulties before us and our Chief, and we are bound to solve them if we can. I cannot imagine that our friendship should be affected by what has passed. A clear understanding is the right atmosphere for it to exist in, and I thought it best to speak frankly to you. The disappointment, if any, will fall on others than myself, but on me through them.

'Yours very sincerely,

'GATHORNE HARDY.'

D. August 8.—'The Cabinet will probably be our last for the Session, and shall we see Disraeli there again as a Commoner? What will be the effect of his removal? We must not expect all smooth sailing. I feel almost in spirits at the certainty of my position.'

D. August 12.—'What a commotion there will be to-day if the great news comes out of Disraeli's transfer to the Peers! He wound up the debate last night on the Bulgarian horrors with great spirit, and then left the House, as I believe, never to return to its precincts. Barrington told me this, and the rumour got afloat in the later hours among some on our Bench. What a change it is, and how will it end? For me it changes hope, not, I hope, to discontent, but to apathy, and I shall not look forward to the House of Commons as I have done. Disraeli himself is very nervous of the transition, and I really believe wishes

that he had ended his great political career. Well! we must wait.'

D. August 23.—'Disraeli's farewell address to the Bucks electors appeared yesterday; dignified but somewhat mystical. A contest is to take place for his seat. Its loss would be serious, and I suppose a Carrington as formidable as anyone can be.'

CHAPTER XX

A STORMY YEAR (1877)

THE year began, as the last one had ended, with tempest and rain, in which my father travelled up to London on New Year's day to attend the Cabinet, where all his colleagues were present.

D. January 2, 1877.—'Eastern affairs occupied us, and unless the Turks change their tone under pressure, the hope of peace is but small. Russia is clearly not ready for war, as I find from many sources, and would like delay, if not absolute release from her warlike position. Corruption has been at work, and she has no funds.'

D. January 3.—'The great storm of Monday seems to have done infinite damage. Here the great Ash, the "Merry Tree," has suffered, one half of it being blown down.'

This tree, which stood by the edge of the sunk fence of the garden at Hemsted, is mentioned in Hasted's 'History of Kent,' and was a landmark from the sea. The ground upon which it stood is reputed to be the highest in the Weald of Kent. Furley in his 'History of the County' suggested that a memorial of William Caxton, a native of the Weald, should be erected on this spot. Part of the old trunk of the great Ash still stands, a few new branches springing from it to show that it is still alive. The storm which destroyed this ancient landmark was ominous of similar tempest in the political world.

D. January 8.—'The Conference seems near its end. Russian falsehood, Turkish evasion, German treachery combine to make it futile.

'Under these circumstances it will not be surprising that the appeals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for a reduction in the Army Estimates met with a reluctant and grudging response, "My Estimates are alarming with every possible reduction." "Northcote writes strongly for diminished Estimates, I wish he, or I, may get them." "I have had a day of scraping and paring down Estimates, the most disagreeable of duties." "Northcote wrote suggesting reduction of men, but that I am not prepared for, and I think it would be politically wrong at such a time and after the deliberate increase of last year."' It will be seen that this request of Sir Stafford Northcote, to which he found himself unable to accede, was very pressing and urgent.

Northcote to Hardy, February 6, 1877.

'I hear that the Opposition meditate a concentrated attack on our finance. Can you possibly find any more reductions in the stores or other votes? If not, can you not face the great question of the number of men? As I understand you have brought the service into so attractive a condition that you can recruit as many men as you want. In former years the number to be provided was always less than the number voted because you could not get your full complement. Could you this year take a nominal force somewhat less than you would otherwise have done, and trust to the real force being equal to the nominal? or would it be possible to make provision for recruiting less actively in the season of the year when fewer

men are really needed? "I speak as a fool in these matters."'

Parliament met on February 9.

D. February 9.—'A real Queen's day for the opening of Parliament! I did not see much of the show, in or out. Hartington spoke better than I ever heard him, proving what practice can do. Northcote was good in points, but, as he was anxious not to provoke debate, necessarily placed restraint upon himself. Then up got Gladstone, deprecating discussion, but saying much to kindle it, in a tone of suppressed passion. I ended with a few words of chaff, and came home very hungry a little before ten, having had nothing to eat. I did not like to leave Northcote's side throughout, and, from what Sir Henry James had told me, had expected a shorter affair, for Hartington only was to speak, but it seems we are to have two leaders in these cases!'

D. February 11.—'We had a Cabinet yesterday which was made very interesting by a long letter from Odo Russell, which contained a report of a conversation with Bismarck on Europe and alliances. How far was it sincere? There is no doubt that he has often expressed his desire for an English alliance. His remarks about the preparations of France and Russia were very remarkable.'

D. February 17.—'Last night came Gladstone's motion, or rather "calling attention and questions" on Derby's somewhat obscure despatch. The word "humiliating" was awkward, as I told him at the Levée the day before, and he admitted it. Gladstone was calm and casuistical, especially about the treaty of 1871. I followed and was warmly applauded throughout. I think my arguments were sound,

and I stated our views as Ministers with no uncertain sound. I have seldom been so congratulated on a speech. Harcourt took notes, but did not rise after me.'

D. February 18.—'We had an early Cabinet at which I was warmly greeted, and especially by Derby, who said that there was not a word to alter in what I had spoken. That is satisfactory.'

Lady Burdett Coutts also asked him to dinner 'to thank me for my speech.' He also notes a dinner at the Foreign Office where he met and talked with 'the vivacious Ignatieff,' and made the acquaintance of the Chinese ambassador. He saw Col. Home on his return from Constantinople, who 'gave me some curious information—the governing body seem imbecile and helpless to the last degree, and I could not gain much hope for the future.'

D. March 14.—'Our Cabinet of yesterday was perhaps the most important we have had: the protocol proposed by Russia, and Schouvaloff's memorandum upon it, were before us, and we were unanimous in our opinion that we should express our readiness to consider it, subject to some alterations of terms. If Russia is sincere, peace ought to be secured, unless Turkey's folly and wickedness stand in the way.'

D. March 24.—'We had a very interesting Cabinet. Beaconsfield spoke at great length on our Eastern policy, and rather alarmed us at one point by urging unanimity in the Cabinet. His account of a conversation with Ignatieff was most graphic; "he listened to him expressing his 'franchise' and asking for the same, and, as he said, eventually determined to oblige him." Said "The curtain had fallen, after the new demand." Ignatieff before leaving came to him and said "The curtain has not fallen, there

will be peace, there shall be peace; arrangements will be made." We shall see. The Cabinet was at one in the main.'

D. March 28.—'The stories of Schouvaloff at Northcote's are amusing. His comparison of negotiations with Derby to a carpet dance with a pianoforte; his "Monsters and Beasts" (Münster and Beust) somewhat rash.

'Count Schouvaloff said one day: "Il y a deux choses que je n'aime pas en Angleterre—danser sur le tapis au son de votre piano, et faire un arrangement quelconque avec Lord Derby."'

D. April 2.—'The Protocol was signed yesterday, but with so many conditions what can come of it? Peace with Montenegro, docility in Turkey, no outrages? There are people capable of getting up the last in order to bring about the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. We have our conditions, and Italy has one which I hardly understand. It is not a very hopeful performance, but there is concert, a desire for peace, and a respite in respect of time, which may work the wonders we hope for. Peace is the grand object, and I do not despair of Turkey being amenable in some degree to advice, as her independence is not really infringed.'

D. April 10.—'The news is gloomy, and Turk and Russian seem determined to fight. Woe to the former, from all I hear! Captain Anstey saw me yesterday, and gave me an account of Russian preparations, and army, which seems large and splendidly equipped.'

The next entry refers to the first appearance in the House of the great lawyer who afterwards became Lord Chancellor and Earl of Halsbury.

D. April 11.—'We beat James on the Livery

Companies, and Giffard's first speech showed powers of debate which ought to be useful.'

D. April 14.—'Last night we had Hartington's motion for papers, and speech against the Government. It had been of course impossible to foresee his line; so I spoke entirely from notes of what he said, and certainly never was more warmly cheered than I was, throughout, and at the close of, my remarks. Indeed I was astonished at the enthusiasm of our friends. It was not absolutely settled for some time whether Bourke or I was to follow Hartington, but, as he attacked, it was thought best that I should rise; and I am thankful that at least my own side thought my answer complete. The Turkish response to the protocol will be published this morning; it is stiff, and uncompromising; but there still seems a lingering hope that something may yet be done to bring about peace. I am more than doubtful whether it is possible, as the season for war is near.'

D. April 15.—'I was overwhelmed with compliments yesterday, and can only be glad that I expressed the general sentiment. Our Cabinet had little to say on foreign affairs, and Derby clearly thinks that peace is next to impossible, although efforts by France and perhaps Austria are being made.'

D. April 17.—'Yesterday I had a summons from Beaconsfield, and he came to me at the War Office at 12.30. He is full of the future, and our course, thinks we must take some steps to prevent the possession of the Dardanelles by Russia, and that it must not be delayed. I enquired with or without the consent of Turkey? as either would be very embarrassing. He inclined to the former. Gallipoli is his object, and no doubt that Col. Home, who has been with him, has suggested that course.

It is the gravest of questions, and I urged an early Cabinet to give us some notion of what would meet the approbation of all. I foresee vast difficulties, but if we allow Russia to go to Constantinople, the whole country will condemn us.'

D. April 22.—'Our Cabinet was long and interesting, and the discussion of the future had more elements of agreement than I expected. The position is a difficult one, and will need most careful action.'

D. April 27.—'Our Cabinet did not carry us much further than before; Russia has clearly tricked Turkey by moving even before her declaration. Nothing now can stop the war. I had a very long piece of work in the House and did not get much of the Universities Bill, but at least the Commission, after many divisions, was settled. I never left the Bench from 4.30 to 1 o'clock.'

This last entry recalls the strenuous life in the House of Commons in the seventies, and the late hours from which our more fortunate successors of the present day are exempted by the operation of 12 o'clock, and even 11 o'clock, rules. No wonder that there are occasional murmurs in the Diary, such as—

D. May 2.—'I ran up for dinner, but the light burnt on, and I had to go down early, and was not home till 2.30. It is becoming an intolerable life.'

If I may be allowed to draw upon my own experiences of the next year, when I myself became a member of the House of Commons, my average time of getting to bed after the House adjourned during the first two months was 3.15 A.M.

One of my father's listeners in the House during the debate of the 26th on the University Commission was his old master, Dr. Kennedy of Shrewsbury, who wrote the next morning:

'For my part I have never forgotten the nice promising boy of 13 or 14, on whom with others, most of them more or less "impares," I had to try my prentice hand as a teacher in the Chapel at Shrewsbury now nearly half a century ago, and though there was much to interest and please me in the House of Commons last evening, nothing pleased me more than to see and hear that "nice boy," now, I suppose, a sexagenarian, holding his own with admirable skill, tact, and success, against all the subtlety and vehemence of an able, powerful, and excited Opposition.'

D. April 29. —'Our Cabinet yesterday was long. We settled the declaration of neutrality, but our chief talk was the future violation of it which may be forced upon us, and how soon who can guess? Cairns took a very decided part, and evidently surprised many, but his words will sink in. We are to see Lintorn Simmons on Tuesday. I spoke of the need of steady preparation, and am free to take more action.'

D. May 2.—'Such a cold May Day! I had to be off early to a Cabinet at 11, and Lintorn Simmons kept us some time. We sat more than two hours.'

The next entries refer to the strange episode of Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions, for the full details of which the reader must refer to Morley's 'Gladstone,' vol. ii. p. 563. They were moved on April 27 without his 'having a single approver in the *upper* official circle.'

'They were 5 in number, first an expression of complaint against the Porte, second a declaration that, in the absence of guarantees on behalf of the subject populations, the Porte had lost all claim to support, moral or material; third, a desire that British influence should be employed on

behalf of local liberty and self-government in the disturbed provinces; fourth, this influence to be addressed to promoting the concert of the Powers in exacting from the Porte such changes as they might deem to be necessary for humanity and justice; fifth, an address to the Crown accordingly.'

The scene is described at great length in the work from which I have quoted, and from a different point of view, in Fitzmaurice's 'Life of Granville,' vol. ii. p. 169. A third impression coming from the Opposition side, may be compared, and will, I hope, interest the students of history.

D. May 5.—'At the House Gladstone showed in his wildest mood, because we did not accept Elcho's most untoward motion, put down without notice to any member of the Government. Of course he wants to force his side, by having an amendment to his rigmarole resolutions, to vote with him, as they will not do on the previous question. There has been some confusion, but I think it will come right, though I should have preferred a negative, or a declaration that the House would not tie the hands of the Ministry.'

D. May 6.—'Our Cabinet yesterday was very unanimous and cordial, and we could only laugh at the reports of dissension and disunion. Resignation of S. and C. had been rumoured, on no grounds at all.'

D. May 9.—'Came home to dine after a strange scene in the House. When riding in the morning Northcote told me that some change had occurred and that Hartington had written to him to inform him that Lubbock would not move the previous question. At the Levée I could learn no particulars, nor up to the time when I reached the House. There a got-up question from Trevelyan began the ludicrous exhibition, and we had a two hours' wrangle, so that I left

the House to run home when Gladstone's speech began about 7. I found him near his peroration when I returned, and he sat down about 9.30. His speech is said to have been fine, and was carefully prepared, but did not impress me with its substance or reality. Woolff moved his amendment. Chamberlain, very flatly, followed, and Cross *admirably* wound up the debate. The last never spoke more effectively, or to more purpose. We had a struggle for this evening, which I ended by announcing a peremptory motion to take it. Holms then gave way. I expect to be called upon on Thursday, not before. I have some fears lest we should not end even then, but the sting is out of the Resolution for the sake of Liberal union. They did not act a dignified part, and looked ashamed, as they no doubt felt. I was home at about 1.15.'

D. May 15.—'Yesterday at War Office till the meeting of the House, when I went down to follow Waddy in the debate, in which I have all along been prepared to take part. A message from Fawcett, that if I and Harcourt abstained, a division should be allowed to take place, made me at once decide to make way, and I came home to dine, returning a little before 10. I had so often been put off that I felt that I could add but little to the discussion, so that I yielded readily. The end came about 2 o'clock. Gladstone, after good speeches from Hartington and Northcote, rather making a new oration than replying. Our numbers were 354 to 223: a majority rather beyond anticipation, and decisive enough. Curiously I was ready to rise as usual at 7, but the sleep must come some time.'

D. May 18.—'I had a long spell at the War Office and a very long evening on the Universities Bill, which approaches its end in Committee. A wrangle at the end, brought on by Balfour advocating woman's rights, occupied

more than an hour, and delayed other clauses. Now comes our holiday, but probably foreign affairs may call for Cabinets. The Burials Bill has led us into trouble in the Lords, and the tie upon Lord Harrowby's proposal must lead to some concession which I for one like not at all.'[1]

The holiday was pleasantly spent in the country in beautiful weather, with less interruption than had been anticipated. He returned to town on May 31, and Cabinets soon began. There was one on June 2, when the Austrian reply was received. 'If sincere, it seems to open the way to a good understanding.' He gave his State dinner on the following evening to the Duke of Cambridge and the War Office officials—'very nicely done, and all were cheerful.' At the Levée on June 7 he was introduced to General Grant, the ex-President of the United States, 'a heavy-looking and silent man.' At the Cabinet of the 16th the Burials Bill came up for discussion, when he took a strong line, and carried his point.

D. June 17.—'Our Cabinet yesterday had its deep interest. John Manners absent. Burials again discussed, and I expressed plainly my determination not to remain with the Government if it took up Lord Harrowby's amendment. So no change made. On foreign affairs indication of some difference as to our immediate action. None as to general policy.'

[1] Lord Harrowby's amendment to the Burial Act, May 17, 1877, was to provide that, on notice being given to the curate or incumbent, a person might be buried with 'such Christian and orderly religious services at the grave' as the person having charge of the funeral shall think fit, or with no religious service:

Provisos.—Notice to be at least some time the day before.

No such interment to take place within half-an-hour of any service in the church or already appointed funeral.

Use of observance or ceremony not permitted by the Act or otherwise, disorderly conduct, insulting Christian religion under colour of the Act, or the minister of the denomination insulted, to be a misdemeanour.

The following letter from Lord Beaconsfield (June 18) shows the chief anxiety at the position:

'My dear Hardy

'I think it would be well that you should look into the precedents of your Office, so that you may be able authoritatively to inform the Cabinet on Wednesday as to the course to be pursued in Parliament with respect to the vote for men &c. Let us avoid the waste of time from needless controversy on such matters. I enclose the only memorandum I have gleaned from Hansard and the *Times*. You will be glad to know that I received a letter yesterday from Lord Derby assuring me that I may count on his support in this grave matter. I shall probably see Lord S. in the course of the day and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose remarks astounded me, but whatever happens I will no longer take the responsibility of affairs and do nothing.

'Yours most truly,

'B.'

D. June 30.—'The Russian crossing, so easy and complete apparently, makes our position more critical. We meet to-day at Beaconsfield's house, and I am afraid shall find him very ill. Hunt is away very ill.'

D. July 1.—'Our Cabinet was most interesting, and Beaconsfield's statement, in spite of his illness, complete and clear. No difference of opinion as to our course.'

D. July 5.—'Just come back (10 A.M.) from Windsor. My dinner there was a quiet one next to the Queen, who talked a great deal. After dinner she stood with me almost three-quarters of an hour. No ladies got to the household room, as they went out with her to a tent in the quadrangle! A coolish evening for the purpose.'

D. July 24.—'Our Cabinet on Saturday was to me very unsatisfactory, as it came to a decision about troops for Malta in which I did not concur militarily or politically, but did not see my way to decline carrying it into effect as it was in itself harmless. So I gave my orders but my misgivings were great, and I had made up my mind to write to Beaconsfield on the subject again when a memo. from H.R.H. made it imperative. Still, as the noise has been made and orders given, it seems best to let things take their course, and in that even the officials who disagree with the measure consent.'

'HEMSTED PARK,
'STAPLEHURST.

'*Confidential.*

'MY DEAR BEACONSFIELD

'I have been very uneasy since I gave the orders of the Cabinet to prepare to send 3000 infantry to Malta for the purpose of strengthening the garrison, with no transport or artillery to enable them to proceed anywhere when they may be required. I did what seemed to be the opinion of the whole Cabinet except myself, as soon as I arrived at the War Office. The more I think of it the less I like it, and the Memorandum received from the Duke of Cambridge this morning so entirely confirms my misgivings that I am writing to him to pause until I have consulted at least you, if not the Cabinet, upon the measure. A body of infantry unprepared for action can do nothing as a demonstration, for every military critic will at once detect and comment upon their inefficiency, and we must admit that in fact they are useless, for while they are not required for the garrison they are unfit for anything else. Again if the women and children are not sent with them there will be future expense, and it would be

unwise to encumber what may be only a temporary movement. On the whole I foresee many enquiries which I shall be unable satisfactorily to answer, for I cannot suggest to myself one good reason for the step which the Cabinet resolved upon. John Manners is with me here, and I will show him the papers when he comes downstairs and let you know his opinion, but I have written my own which remains what it was yesterday. We hope to be in town by 2 P.M. to-morrow, when I shall probably hear from you. In the meantime I hope you will see that my only desire is not to commit the Government to a proceeding which they may be unable to justify.

'Yours very sincerely,

'GATHORNE HARDY.

'*July 22, 1877.*'

D. July 31.—'Saturday the Cabinet and talks with H.R.H. occupied me. Derby was strange, and seemed to shrink from any action, diplomatic or other, but he made our communication to Schouvaloff eventually, and the rest of us were more in earnest. Sunday was lovely, but I had a shock in the announcement of Hunt's death; no particulars as yet, but I am not surprised, for he was seriously ill when he left town, and had the signs of rooted disease. He was a good manly fellow, and was fair and just in all his dealings. Northcote and Hartington paid a short but right tribute to his memory.'

D. August 1.—'My day was busy enough, as a Cabinet at 2 o'clock called me from the War Office and kept me till the House met. Derby was very difficult, and would not move much. He nearly bit his finger off, and, from what Beaconsfield told me afterwards, must be by no means easy to conduct business with. He does not answer his Chief's

letters, and has written somewhat roughly to his Royal Mistress. We had a troubled evening, and I left the House sitting at 3.15 and probably it is still engaged, as it is pledged to fight the matter out and pass the South Africa Bill. Harcourt was very good, and Northcote came back refreshed by two or three hours' sleep just before I went away.'

D. August 1.—'Wednesday evening 7.30. Success justifies. I was in the House by 9.30 this morning, and took a small but decided part in the controversy, which ended in our carrying our Bill through Committee about 2.30. We then got the Irish Judicature advanced, and adjourned about 5.45. I left at 5, having been nearly 20 hours in the House from the beginning of the sitting. If the recusants had not yielded, the House was becoming ready for the strongest steps, but the result of success was to divide opinion on ulterior measures, and the union of the Committee throughout was the grand feature to preserve. I hope we produced an effect, but Parnell, Biggar, O'Donnell, and worst, Nolan are made of impenetrable stuff.'

D. August 2.—'Hunt was buried at Homburg. He has left a sad household—ten children under 18. Stewart was able to represent me at the cemetery.'

The death of his old friend made a vacancy in the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, and he might, had he chosen, have filled the post. He was much gratified at Lord Beaconsfield's warmth, and appreciation of his services, as will be seen from his letter to his son, of August 2.

D. August 3.—'At the Cabinet the news of Wellesley's mission from the Emperor (purport unknown) made us pause, and the Turkish victories alter the conditions. Beaconsfield spoke to me in the kindest manner, saying that

I must consider it a standing order that in any change I had the first offer of everything, so great were my services to the party and him. He did not of course wish me to have the Admiralty, but it was at my disposal. I said how gratified I was, but naturally declined, feeling especially, at such a time, that it would be wrong to move. At the same time I doubted if I was prepared for another Commons campaign where I am. There it rests and I rather expect that Beach, Sandon, Smith, and perhaps, Stanley will move up, but have no definite information. I got home a little after 2.'

Gathorne Hardy to John Stewart Hardy, August 2.

'I was amused to hear that the *Standard* named me as Hunt's successor, for I did not happen to see the paper on that day. You will not think such a change likely, nor perhaps possible. Today, however, the Prime Minister said to me "that I must consider it a standing order that an offer was made first to me in case of any change. The choice was always open to me, so great were my services to the party and him." I blush to record such an over-estimate of what is due to me, but perhaps you will like to have on authority such a testimony to your father. Of course it is a confidential matter of which I shall not talk, nor, of course, did he wish me to move from my present position, but the reverse. I shall not move. When I hear the appointments on authority I will let you know. I was much touched by the way Beaconsfield treated me and you will appreciate his goodwill.'

The next entry, with Lord Derby's depreciatory estimate of himself as well as the rest of the Cabinet with regard to the conduct of Foreign Affairs, is amusing. Mr. W. H. Smith had been promoted from the Treasury to the Admiralty,

thus commencing that distinguished career as a Cabinet Minister which culminated in his attaining the position of First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons. Frederick Stanley, afterwards 16th Earl of Derby, succeeded him. As Financial Secretary to the War Office he had been a valued colleague, and his Chief felt his promotion to be a great personal loss. My father had stood godfather to his only daughter, who by a strange coincidence was destined about a generation later to become the wife of his grandson Frank, second son of the present Lord Cranbrook.

D. August 9.—'No appointment in Smith's place. I dread the demand for Stanley. Derby was amusing when I asked about Cabinets. He did not see the use of calling together 12 Foreign Secretaries, none of whom, including himself, knew their business.'

Stanley accepted the office of Secretary of the Treasury on August 10. He wrote gratefully to his Chief:

'I have accepted the offer with mingled feelings . . . I cannot adequately express my deep sense of gratitude to you for your great kindness to me during the whole course of my duties at this Office, and I can truly say that I think it can fall to the lot of few men to serve under such a Chief as I have had! I shall always look back upon the last 3½ years as some of the pleasantest of my official life, for your unvarying kindness and consideration made the work light, even when there was most to do, and may I venture to hope that our association in this office has left behind it something more substantial than the recollection of mere official acquaintance?'

D. August 13.—'Our Cabinet on Friday settled the

Queen's Speech. Beaconsfield told me that he would leave me Stanley, and write to him explaining. I did not quite like this, as it seemed to be standing in his way, and so spoke plainly to him when I reached the War Office, and finding he would like to change, as his brother and others wished it, communicated with B. and set him free. Lopes had the offer and declined, so Stanley had the chance and has accepted—a terrible blow to me, but one must hope to recover it. Loyd Lindsay has been offered the vacant place, and ought to be fit for it.'

Col. Loyd Lindsay, V.C., afterwards Lord Wantage, accepted the post, and filled it ably. There were two more Cabinets before Parliament was prorogued, the final one on the 14th 'not to my mind, so irresolute as to the future.' Lord Beaconsfield was 'suffering much from his bronchial affection.'

The holiday began in Scotland at the Duke of Richmond's shooting lodge, Glenfiddich, where he stayed about a fortnight. He left on August 27, when a twelve-hour journey brought him to Balmoral as Minister in attendance on Her Majesty. He found his Royal Mistress much perturbed about the Russian advance in Turkey; and there are many letters, and notes of interviews in which she expresses her views freely, which may serve to interest some future generation but which could not now be published. He left on September 12 for Murthly Castle, after dining with the Queen and taking farewell the night before. 'In the course of the evening she sent me several prints with Royal portraits as a memento of my visit.' He was not very successful in his stalking at Balmoral, but writes the following vivid account of a hard day's work on the hill:

D. Friday, September 7.—'I breakfasted alone, and was off about ten o'clock to the hills. We drove to Beaumont's

moss, and then ascended on ponies the steepest of ravines by a rushing torrent. Our first stalk lasted until three, and I had given up the hope of ever reaching the stags, as a hind was constantly between us and them. Such ups and downs, such crawling, creeping, stern chasing, sliding &c., I never experienced. I got my stag, and had more shots at others in the herd, and cannot understand how I missed—no doubt they were far. A miss-fire the first chance was a trial, but I had time to change the cartridge. Again a long and most fatiguing stalk, ending by coasting along a most dashing burn, trying the muscles, sinews, and bones, of one's legs severely. Then I had a shot: but at a stag standing about 130 yards off with his face directly towards me. Stuart (the stalker) thought I might have waited, but I think he was on the alert. We tried once more, but I was very tired, and felt sure we should fail to reach the beasts, as was the case. Came down by the Garawalt, and met the Queen driving there. I certainly have had a hard day, but it has been a fine one and the lights and views were splendid.

At Murthly he was more successful with the salmon. He records the capture of three on September 15, one of 30 pounds. He started for home on September 17 after catching another salmon in the morning. The 24th brought the following letter from Lord Beaconsfield:

'HUGHENDEN MANOR, *September 24.*

'Do you think you can pay me a visit here, as I am anxious to confer with you on many grave matters? I would offer to come to you, which would give me the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Hardy, always a great one, but although pretty well, I am only so by a regularity of hours

and of habits and other resources of old fogeyism which make me a bad guest, though

'Your true friend

'BEACONSFIELD.'

He reached Hughenden on the 27th.

D. September 29.—'Monty Corry prepared me to find the Chief ill, but I thought him not so bad as described, although no doubt far from hearty and well. His bronchial affection has come back, but does not seem to me nearly so bad as I have heard it in London. We had some long talks over Eastern affairs, and the necessity of being ready for events which may occur at any time. He assured me the Turks were ready to offer very honourable terms to Russia, administrative autonomy to Bulgaria retaining their rule—cession of Bessarabian territory—give up the Suzerainty of Roumania to Austria to keep or renounce as she may please. These conditions he gets from Berlin, where the Turkish Ambassador has communicated them. After a night's reflection, while I talked on his cheerful terrace yesterday morning under a summer sun, I suggested that if, as mediators, we were entrusted to support such terms, we should admit their fairness and moderation, and should intimate that their rejection might influence our neutral position if the war were continued to a second campaign, and that if Constantinople were threatened we should be prepared to afford material aid to prevent its seizure. He jumped at this as a matter for the Cabinet to consider, and one will be summoned next week for the purpose. As we go on, Europe does not believe in our action under any circumstances, and Bismarck urges upon Russia that the days of action by fleets are over, that we have no soldiers

and are not making preparations to have any. Lord Lyons is strongly of opinion that Russia would not leave Constantinople if once there. "She would celebrate mass in St. Sophia and it would become impossible."'

D. October 1.—'Another birthday brings what is called the grand climacteric; but why? I have to thank God for health and every conceivable blessing. While such is the case, the returns *are* happy, nor are they clouded in any domestic quarter. I sometimes wonder if I should not be happier if I were free from office and the House of Commons, but I could hardly go now, and at least the Chief seems to appreciate my services. Congratulations come in as usual.'

D. October 6.—'Yesterday off early for the Cabinet. There was much difference of opinion, and in at least one quarter the basis of irreconcileable difference in the case of certain events. Derby asked me quietly whether the Cabinet or the Turkish Empire would last the longer, as each seemed shaky! . . . The *far niente* is well enough at present, but we have given pledges which may call for action, and then—'

He paid visits to Sir Stafford Northcote at Pynes, and to Lord Abergavenny at Eridge Castle, where Lord Beaconsfield and Cairns were also guests.

D. October 17, Pynes.—'We were here by 7 o'clock. Lady Salisbury and two daughters came by the same train. . . . Yesterday we had a long drive to Bicton (Lady Rolle's) with some heavy showers. The damage done by Sunday night's storm there and over this neighbourhood is deplorable. Bicton is certainly charming, and trees and shrubs wonderful. It gave us real pleasure. The Bishop (Temple) and his gentle wife dined. Northcote has hurt his leg assisting to move a fallen tree. Curious telegrams from Constantinople

as to Count Zichy's overtures, and Turkish pretensions. Count Beust varies, and I trust him more than Zichy. Austria not at all.'

D. October 18.—'The Turkish defeat in Asia sounds very complete from the Russian side, and Constantinople has no reply. Will it conduce to peace? Yesterday was very fine and I enjoyed a walk in the pretty grounds, and a ride to Haldon (the seat of Sir Lawrence Palk, afterwards Lord Haldon). Northcote's horse carried me admirably. The country was charming, and the views from the hills above Palk's place beautiful, as are his hanging woods. A ball here in the evening kept up late with great merriment of those engaged. We go to the Cathedral this afternoon.'

D. October 29, Eridge.—'A long interview with Beaconsfield, in which Cairns after a time joined us. We three agree fully as to the right course, but will there not be one or two recalcitrants? B. is but poorly, and fancies his bronchial attack asthma. He put it aside and talked eagerly. He had seen much of Schouvaloff (who has had no communications from Gortchakoff for three months), does not believe in direct negotiations between Turkey and Russia—thinks a great success would open the way for mediation—Beust declares that there is no convention between the three great empires, but there are verbal agreements on some points; and one probably the strategical temporary (?) occupation of Constantinople.'

There were Cabinets in November commencing with one on the 6th and continued *de die in diem*. The first on November 6 was 'very unanimous on all points.' They were mainly departmental, to prepare for the next session, one attended by Sclater Booth on County Boards—'he evidently had studied the subject well.' He comments on

the extra-parliamentary oratory. 'Gladstone coquets with Irish grievances and poses as the lover of Ireland!' On the 13th he paid a visit to Sir Richard Wallace's place, Sudbourne Hall, and enjoyed the fine shooting.

D. November 13.—'Sir Richard Wallace received us most hospitably. It is needless to say the dinner was too good, and required care and firmness! Lady Wallace speaks only French, and I took her in, to my dismay, but stumbled through some very bad language. Our bag on the 13th (which was a very wet day) was 824 head, and 75 have been since picked up. Yesterday which was most lovely we far eclipsed the work of the day before. 1000 pheasants fell, and 645 of other game, and as it was quite dark at the end the pick up will be large, and the bag would have been much increased by half an hour's more light, for the heath on which we ended literally swarmed with pheasants and hares, as indeed did the ground through the day.'

D. November 21.—'I am disgusted to-day to see that I was put up for the Lord Rectorship of St. Andrews and defeated by Selborne. Had I agreed to stand I should have had nothing to say, but it is a cool proceeding to set me up, and knock me down without my consent!'

On November 27, he had a house party at Hemsted. 'Count Münster, Cairns, Lord Grimston, the Loyd Lindsays, and the Stanhopes were of the party.' The next day he wrote to Lord Beaconsfield urging a Cabinet.

'*Private.*

'HEMSTED PARK,
'STAPLEHURST.

'MY DEAR BEACONSFIELD

'Cairns is here, and has been talking to me a good deal on our present position, which remains somewhat undecided. Is it not time that we knew what Lord Derby

has done in reference to the decision of the last Cabinet? From what Cairns says, I am afraid that he has hardly mastered the proposition on which the Cabinet was unanimous. Again I gather from Layard's telegram that the Turks in the midst of their vigorous determination to continue the war are anxious to know what terms they would be likely to get from peace. It is evident therefore that the latter is in their minds, and at any moment may take the upper place. Is it prudent then that we, who have been unofficially asked to mediate, or almost that, should take no step in that direction? It would be difficult to defend ourselves if the Porte should go direct to Russia as being unable to move us. Cairns would be free for a Cabinet on Saturday or Monday, and I have no special engagement up to Wednesday, and of course any one must give way to such a call. I am reluctant to urge our assembling, but I am afraid of drifting at a time when steerage might, though difficult, be possible.

'Yours very truly,

'GATHORNE HARDY.

November 28, 1877.'

D. December 5.—'Our Cabinet yesterday involves another on Saturday, as we are to see the document which Derby will prepare. Austria promises more decisively—but—'

D. December 6.—'A long talk with Salisbury on the future. He is bent upon England having a share if there should be a break-up in the East, and evidently has no desire that Turkey should stand. The case is full of difficulties, but should be discussed before events decide.'

On the 11th he went to Edinburgh to open the Conservative Club there, and to address the Conservative Working Men's Association. On his arrival he received

the news of the fall of Plevna and the unconditional surrender of Osman Digna and his army. 'This must hurry events to a crisis, and our mediation ought not to be delayed. I wrote to Beaconsfield about the future.' His speeches, which were afterwards printed by the Association, were very successful. On this occasion he was the guest of that fine old Scotchman, Mr. John Blackwood, and the friendship thus commenced continued throughout their lives.

D. December 13.—'The working-men's meeting looked well-dressed and intelligent, but certainly there was a very strong representation of the working-man proper, as I saw when I was among them as they came out. It was impossible to have a heartier reception than was accorded to myself, and my speech, and when one has undertaken a duty it is not unsatisfactory to have the assurance that it has been performed to the satisfaction of those for whom it was meant. Not a moment of impatience at so long an address, but assurances that it might have been twice as long, contented me. . . . Mr. Blackwood had a few in to supper, who ended the evening pleasantly. He saw me off this morning, and I shall always think of him as a genuine host, omitting nothing that was wanted, intruding nothing that was not. It is a pleasure to have made such a friend, for he gives me the impression of being sterling. Never had I anywhere more tokens of kindly welcome.'

He took the opportunity of an attack that had been made upon his Army administration in the City, to defend his Regimental Exchanges Bill, and the warrant for securing adequate promotion and retirement. As I have said little on these topics, perhaps I may be allowed to quote a few words:

'As regards the Regimental Exchanges Bill, when I

came into office the Commission which had been appointed by my predecessor, consisting of two eminent judges, both of the Liberal party (Lord Penzance and Lord Justice James), and my lamented friend Mr. Ward Hunt, had reported strongly in favour of what I carried out in the Regimental Exchanges Bill. It was practically a judicial decision. With respect to the other question, when Mr. Cardwell abolished purchase in the Army—and I am not going into the question whether he was right or wrong—he undertook that adequate promotion should be provided in the Army. He undertook it on the part of the country, and I accepted that legacy from him. I say that it ought to have been done before I came into office—it ought to have been done at the same time that purchase was abolished. When you were taking so great a step as that, if there were the risk of impediment to promotion in the Army—and that means, to maintaining efficiency in the Army—it was the duty of the men who abolished purchase in the Army to provide for adequate promotion. That was left undone. I appointed a Commission. Let any man who looks at the names of that Commission—and I know no Liberal of the strongest type who has said anything against it—say whether it was not fairly, impartially, and I may say, judicially constituted. It made its recommendations after long consideration, and careful investigation of all the difficulties, and conclusions were brought before Parliament at the close of the last session, and after a final vote taken they were carried in the House of Commons. Now I am not going to say that any measure is perfect—far from it; but it was founded upon the necessities of the case created by that Government of which Lord Hartington was a member, and which they had taken no pains whatever to meet.'

On Eastern affairs he could not be very explicit. 'The fall of Plevna after a defence of unparalleled gallantry is a great event, and may have great results. I hope there may be such results as may be in harmony with the wishes of Europe, and to the advantage of mankind. I know not what may be the issue; but I hope and trust that the time has come when such a great event having taken place—so disastrous to the one side, and so glorious in one sense to the other—that a time may have come when an end may be made to this great and terrible war, and some arrangement may be come to by which the good of Christians and Mussulmans may be secured, and the peace of Europe consolidated. I said last night that some persons had said that there would be a peace made separate from England. Do not believe that. England is a double nation. She has interests in the Mediterranean, she has her interests in the Suez Canal, she has her interests in the Red Sea, she has her interests in India. She is practically both an Eastern and a Western power; and I do not suppose that it is possible—I cannot imagine such a thing—as that anything like a final peace connected with Eastern affairs can be made without a proper and due intervention of England. As we have said on the part of the Government, we are concerned only with British interests, and if it were possible that a peace should be made which would consolidate all Eastern affairs without affecting British interests, it would be of little consequence whether England were a party to it or not, because she would have gained all she desired. But if, as I believe, it will be essential to call in all those who are deeply interested in what may result from the composition and settlement of Eastern affairs, England must in my belief be called in, as it has been promised that Europe and England shall be called in.'

Cabinets were held on the 14th, 17th, and 19th. 'To-morrow's Cabinet,' he writes on the 13th, 'will be deeply nteresting, and important. We must face the future more than Lord Derby has hitherto done.' On the 17th: 'Beaconsfield went into his own position and determination not to dishonour it. I accepted his programme altogether, as indeed I always have. . . . Upon this differences arose —they have long been hardly latent—and things look ill for agreement.'

On the 18th an early meeting of Parliament was determined upon, and the differences, for the time at least, were tided over.

D. December 19.—'The Cabinet was long, but not on the points of controversy. They seemed suddenly to settle themselves. Parliament is to meet on the 17th of January, and we agreed what to do then, and in the meantime Derby has already sent a draft to Lord A. Loftus for approval. I am truly glad that all has gone off so well, but the difficulty, the only one we have had, may recur.'

With this ominous prophecy I may conclude this chapter. The next year soon brought the disruption apprehended.

CHAPTER XXI

LAST DAYS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS (1878)

D. January 1, 1878.—'At home countless blessings surround us, but the year opens badly for the world. Russia will only negotiate directly, and our course must be a most difficult one to steer.'

Such is the first entry in the Diary for 1878, the year when the writer's career in the House of Commons was destined to come to a close. It was indeed a difficult one for the world, and especially for those responsible for the conduct of public affairs in every country in Europe. For four months the great issues of peace and war trembled in the balance, and the Secretary of State for War had the burden of making preparations for possible, indeed probable, military operations, as well as the strain of constant and anxious deliberation in the Cabinet, where the long threatened disruption at length took place; Lord Carnarvon resigning on February 23, and Lord Derby a month later. The references to Cabinet meetings give a clear indication of the state of the writer's mind, and a general impression of the difficulties and plans of the Ministry, but the caution which my father always exercised with regard to noting individual opinions and Cabinet differences, while it lightens my task as to the amount of discretion I am called upon to exercise, necessarily makes the record somewhat confused and blurred. Even in these most private manuscripts, although kept religiously under lock and key, and seen by no one till after his death, he held himself debarred from noting any details of Cabinet

deliberations. 'Let those secrets be,' he writes on January 10 when he alludes to 'signs of a difference which may spring up with danger at any critical moment,' again on July 19, when referring to Lord Salisbury's contradiction of Lord Derby's version of his reasons for resignation, he gives his own recollection which agrees with Lord Salisbury's, but adds 'My care in not writing down Cabinet affairs prevents my having a record.'

A few brief chronological notes, mainly taken from Low and Sanders's History, may help to explain and illustrate the subsequent entries. I do not propose to go in any detail into the history of events so often already recorded in such works as the Biographies of Gladstone, Lord Granville, and Lord Iddesleigh, still less do I desire to argue the merits or faults of the course adopted. As a matter of history, with which alone I desire to deal, it was my father's unshaken conviction to the day of his death that the so-called Jingo policy, in which he cordially supported his Chief, was instrumental in preserving the peace of Europe, and that a policy of drift would have resulted in a repetition of the events of 1856, and a second war with Russia.

Parliament opened on January 17, and before the 23rd Northcote gave notice of a vote of credit for six millions. On the 23rd the British Fleet was ordered to the Dardanelles, and Lords Derby, and Carnarvon, sent in their resignations in consequence. Admiral Hornby had actually started, having obtained permission from the Porte, when a telegram from Layard, our Ambassador, that an armistice had actually been signed, led the Government to reverse their orders by telegram, and induced Lord Derby to suspend his threatened resignation. On February 7 another message came from Layard that the Russians were advancing towards Constantinople, in spite of the armistice, and although Northcote on the 8th announced in the House of Commons that this was denied by Gortchakoff, the position was too critical for delay, and Admiral Hornby made the Straits in a storm on February 13, 'for the protection

of British subjects,' but thereby scared away the Grand Duke Nicholas, who was terrorising the Sultan at Constantinople. A possible expedition of British troops to be commanded by Lord Napier of Magdala, with Sir Garnet Wolseley as Chief of the Staff, was determined upon. The Treaty of San Stefano was signed between Russia and Turkey on March 3, but England insisted that its terms should be submitted to a European Congress, and on March 28 it was determined to call out the Reserves; upon this Lord Derby resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office, my father taking his place at the India Office. The Congress of Berlin was agreed upon on June 1, and commenced its sittings on June 13, Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury being our representatives. It closed after a month's sitting on July 13, when the Plenipotentiaries returned bringing 'Peace with Honour.'

The first Cabinet was held on January 3.

D. January 4.—'Our Cabinet was not an agreeable one. It began by Beaconsfield's adverting to Carnarvon's speech to a South African Deputation on Monday before the Cabinet, of which we knew nothing until we saw it in the papers yesterday. It was unnecessary, as the Conference was upon another subject, and it was injudicious in the midst of most delicate negotiations, misleading, as is shown by the comments on it, and rather unfair upon the Cabinet, as he pronounced upon the Russian answer which we had not discussed. Then the reference to the Crimean War, with its bearing upon the present war was hardly such in its terms as not to lead to untrue conclusions. To such effect was what B. said, and C. took it very seriously, saying that he would not take a course hastily, and in all probability what passed from other members of the Cabinet and B. at the close will reconcile him to remaining where he is. His resignation at such a time would be more misleading than

his speech. Well! there it rests for the present, but for how long?'

D. January 10.—'At the Cabinet on Monday, C. made his peace, reading a long paper to secure his future ground. B. accepted the peace, leaving the matters undiscussed, and asking to talk them over privately. The news from the East is more and more adverse to Turkey, and our position by no means such as I could wish.'

Lord Beaconsfield had by this time lost all wish to retain Carnarvon in the Cabinet.

D. January 6.—'John Manners came in the evening. It is clear from his wife's report to him of a talk with Beaconsfield, that he wishes Carnarvon to go—I doubt the wisdom of that.'

The following letter of Sir Stafford Northcote refers to the Vote of Credit:

Northcote to Hardy, January 9.

'I think the conclusion to which we are coming seems to be something of this kind, that we are not to ask for an increase of our forces, but that we are to ask for the means of making them available by a vote sufficient to enable us to send 30,000 or 40,000 men at short notice to any point in the Eastern Mediterranean that might be necessary. Whether this is to be done by a Vote of Credit, or a supplementary estimate in detail, does not seem to me very material, but I think the balance of argument is in favour of the latter. You would in any case have to give nearly, or quite, as full an explanation of the Vote of Credit, as of the supplementary estimate, and the suspicions of the House might be aroused by what would be called an

unusual course. It will probably be asked why you come for money at all, before you know that you will require to spend it, and while you are saying that you hope you may not require it at all. The answer seems to me to be two-fold: first, that if you should require to send troops abroad it will be at short notice, and that it is important to have authority from Parliament to enable you to begin your preparations the instant you see occasion for them; secondly, that by passing this vote Parliament will greatly strengthen your hands in dealing with other countries, as it will be an indisputable proof that you possess its confidence. But I think that the War Office and Admiralty ought to settle what should be asked for, and should also consider how much, if any, they would begin to spend, or to engage to spend immediately. We ought to have this before us, before Parliament meets at all events, and the sooner the better. Also what other steps will be necessary to enable you to call up your reserves, and embody the Militia, and should those steps be taken, or proposed to Parliament, at the same time that you ask for your money, or not until the occasion for action arises. This is an important point, and one on which I do not feel clear.'

D. January 13.—'A Cabinet on Friday (11th) called me to town. The utter crash of the Turkish forces, and the advance of the Russians, had led to pressing telegrams from Layard for instructions. At one time I thought there was a break up, for D. and C. could not be moved, but Salisbury averted the disruption by a proposal. Still we do not act up to our conditions, though some interpret them differently. It makes one far from comfortable, but whatever we resolved, I doubt if it is not too late for any action. The Porte is in a panic, and will probably defend nothing

adequately. We must lean upon the broken reed Austria and her promises, or the still less trustworthy support, the promises of Russia.'

D. January 14.—'A telegram from Beaconsfield, to ask me to visit him before the Cabinet. I hurried down and found B. and had a long talk with him. Turkish disasters &c., efforts for peace, greatly change the condition of affairs, and I much doubt if the speech suits it. I think a firm tone earlier would have led to peace, but any active measure is now too late. Adrianople and Gallipoli, if not Constantinople, are really undefended. Derby was not at the Cabinet, as he was in bed through illness, but we communicated with him through Tenterden. We discussed the Queen's telegram to the Czar on receipt of the Sultan's message to herself, and were satisfied. We have done too much, or too little. Talk and demonstrations should have been made realities or omitted, and so I have said.'

D. January 15.—'Our Cabinet (though Derby was absent from severe illness and could not even receive us at home) was very important. We agreed to communications to Austria to draw closer to her, to Loftus to urge an answer about Gallipoli, to Austria as to association with us in entering the Dardanelles. Salisbury, worn out by Russian duplicity, was more eager than anyone for the last action, but Carnarvon was, and probably will remain, opposed. I should not be surprised if we do not see him in Council again. The Czar sent a rude answer to the Queen, not even toned down in its harshness.'

D. January 16.—'I was sure from the telegrams that a Cabinet was inevitable, and we all met at 12 but Derby, who is still very unwell. Events have made Carnarvon's resignation, which he told me he had sent, null and void; I told him yesterday that he was premature, as no decision

had been come to against his views, though the feeling was strong. Beust's communications as to Austria, the Grand Vizier's to the fleet, backed by Layard—Russia's more than half promise not to go to Gallipoli—changed all our purposes of yesterday. Austria is shaky, but we must act with her as she urges. Our military conference could of course be of no great avail. It convinced me we should be too late if Russia really acted, but I was glad to see how rapidly 14,000 or 15,000 men could be sent. Well! to-morrow will be the trial.'

D. January 20.—'A box full of dreadful telegrams. Austria clearly drawing back from her professions, frightened at what she has suggested. The Sultan asking most secretly for refuge in England, as, if Constantinople is occupied, his abdication must follow. Mahomedans flying and dying in thousands, having no assurance from the advancing Russians of protection. What an awful picture! I fear that we play but a sorry part, unready for everything.'

D. January 22.—'We had an unsatisfactory Cabinet. Derby is so timid and irresolute that all the rest of the Cabinet cannot move him. Austria is hesitating, and clearly because she does not understand our backwardness, but we had to press heavily to get even as much done as was—and that was little. We met again to-day. I think Carnarvon would have gone further, though he, except upon his own Colonial matters, is not satisfactory. There he has been even rash, but he has ideas.'

D. January 24.—'Public events occupy one's mind. On Tuesday, as no reply had come from Austria, our Cabinet was quiet and soon over, but I fear that Russia is deliberately tricking us, and advancing while delaying negotiations. Yesterday the answer came, and I at once foresaw a Cabinet, which came at 3, and then ten spoke with

absolute unanimity of our duty imposed by good faith and honour. D. and C. disagreed, but we sent our orders off, and have made up our minds, so that there is but one end.'

Carnarvon to Hardy, January 24.

'I think the best that we can do is to have five minutes' conversation. . . . I am indeed grieved much more than I can say—and you will, I know, believe me when I add that the separation from you as a colleague pains me as deeply as, perhaps more deeply than, that from any other member of the Cabinet. Pray do not let us allow it to affect personal feelings or relations.'

D. January 25.—'Yesterday Carnarvon came to me at the War Office, to wind up the Cape affair, and H.R.H. followed him. The former was very low, and hoped that no personal alienation would follow his retirement. Will it be persisted in? At one I went to Beaconsfield's, with whom I was alone a short time. He told me that the resignations had been sent in—that Salisbury had agreed to be Foreign Secretary—that I had a standing claim for the open offices, which he hoped under the circumstances I should not exercise. I felt the difficulty under the special calls which might come upon my department, but said that I retained my desire soon to leave the House of Commons, and he replied that that was settled, as he had spoken to the Queen. He thinks of Manners if the vacancy should be, and spoke very highly of his working power and ability, which I said were underrated because he had written two foolish lines.[1] Northcote, Salisbury, and Smith joined, and we agreed upon some telegrams, and to give notice of asking for money last night, which Northcote did. Nothing

[1] 'Let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die,
But leave us still our old nobility.'

had come out about resignations, or the cause of them—the movement of the fleet; still there was stir enough. The morning papers will probably have something on the latter topic, but it is possible, if the terms of peace are what has been confusedly telegraphed from Constantinople, that all may end quietly. Our movement is in the true interests of peace, as Montgelas told Goschen.'

D. January 26.—'The Council of ten met at Downing Street and read Schouvaloff's minute of the bases delivered shortly before, (in consequence of our action?). They differ in some respects from what we heard and continue to hear from Constantinople, are hard for Turkey, and I should judge not acceptable to Austria, but she has so far made no sign. The Fleet had been checked at Besika, at least I hope so, and I had interviews in abundance at the War Office and then to the House. Northcote answered Hartington admirably and calmly. In the Lords Carnarvon made a very long, and in some respects irrelevant, explanation, which I do not think made a favourable impression, certainly not on our people. Of course any disruption is a blow to us just now. Derby's departure is in suspense, but, from what F. Stanley said, I fear will not long be averted. His name carries weight from the prudence of his words, the world does not know his inability to act.'

D. January 27.—'We had a meeting at Beaconsfield's, Derby absent, and whether he will be among us again I know not. He was to decide last night as I understand. Austria's telegrams were important, as showing that the Emperor and Andrassy were deeply hurt at the conduct of Russia and were looking to us to aid them in modifying her terms. They lay stress on matters of less moment to us. The fleet had been stopped, but only just in time. However, the Sultan had sent a firman for its entrance.'

D. January 28.—'A notice for Cabinet was brought after lunch, and at five I was there, as was Derby, but Cairns and Richmond out of town. Austria is troubled but hesitating, and not to be depended on, but we are to hear more. Beaconsfield was much depressed after the Cabinet—much trouble with Derby—had a "Pyrrhic victory." Derby sullen, which he showed by going to Carnarvon's old seat, instead of that reserved to him, as usual, next the Chief. His name affects the country which does not know his indecision and timidity.'

D. February 3.—'Beach has the Colonies; the Duke of Northumberland the Privy Seal (a strange choice surely). As to the other changes, which can only be slight, I know nothing.'

At the end of January Northcote proposed the vote of credit for six millions, and a prolonged debate took place in the House of Commons. My father was asked to follow Gladstone.

D. February 5.—'Gladstone opened the debate last night in a carefully studied delusive speech, ending in the proposal that both Houses should address the Crown with a vote of confidence in the Government, and the vote be postponed—a remarkable offer which he had no authority to make, and which was a complete reply to all the contumely which he has heaped upon us; I followed, but was somewhat puzzled at the change of front, nor am I sure that I dealt with it as I ought, but it was impossible to accept the specious plausibilities so contrary to his violent language at Oxford a week ago. I am by no means satisfied with my reply, but my friends received it well. Beaconsfield's note of thanks is valuable.'

Beaconsfield to Hardy, February 5.

'I must congratulate you on your magnificent speech, equalling, if not exceeding, any of your previous achievements.

'I must thank you also for your vigorous vindication of your friend

'BEACONSFIELD.'

D. February 8.—'A Cabinet at 11 yesterday did not sit long, but we were, as I still feel, convinced of the truth of Layard's news, and acted upon it. At the House, however, Northcote having announced it, and Forster having offered to withdraw his amendment, a note from Schouvaloff is brought in containing a message from Gortchakoff denying the "rumours of an advance to Constantinople, and capture of a fort on the lines." This had a singular effect, but did not make Forster withdraw the withdrawal.'

D. February 9.—'Cabinet at 2. We resolved to send half the fleet up, as we found that by the terms of armistice Russia was virtually in possession of the lines of Constantinople by the dismantling of all the lines of defence. The statement of our intention was well received in both Houses, and even Gladstone could not remonstrate. The discussion on the vote was long—Hartington very heavy—Northcote good and clear—Gladstone spoke well, but dangerously, especially about Austria. He once or twice referred to me with concentrated bitterness. At 12.30 we divided, 328 to 134. Hartington and his friends withdrew. Gladstone led the irreconcilables.'

D. February 10.—'The Levée took me early from the War Office, and, as there was a Cabinet at 4, I did not return. I had time, however, to start some of the urgent wants in case (which God forbid) war should ensue.'

D. February 12.—'Telegrams have been pouring in; and very critical is our position. Too late—too late! rings in my ears. What can we do? We came to an unanimous conclusion that the fleet must go up, although the firman were refused, but what can be its action? What may be its risk! If the Russians occupy Constantinople, danger there—and if the Dardanelles, more there. We adjourned till 11 to-day. God give us wisdom for our work!'

D. February 13.—'Austria sent some propositions which we accepted, but will she move after all? I cannot but feel nervous at our fleet's movements to-day, although I do not apprehend a collision. Still, if Russia were to seize the Dardanelles, our position would be one of great danger.'

D. February 15.—'We heard of the safe passage of the Dardanelles yesterday, and a weight was off my mind. At 2.30 a Cabinet was summoned, and some less important decisions come to, but there is an intricate road before us. We must move most cautiously and yet firmly. War, unless a necessity forced upon us, should be shunned as the worst of evils. If Austria remains as now, it must be avoided.'

D. February 16.—'A Cabinet summoned for 12 to consider a telegram from Hornby, and we came to some momentous conclusions, to be further considered to-day. I am anxious for a demand for frankness from Russia; the only way out of darkness and difficulty; at present we know nothing.'

D. February 17.—'We had a Cabinet yesterday which lasted 2½ hours, and much time was thrown away in relation to the Turkish fleet, as a telegram from Layard respecting it came just as we had completed our proposed telegram to him. I saw H.R.H. after upon a Commander in case of need, and really he had no one to recommend but Napier.

—— he named; but to take a man of 75 or more would be a very unwise step. Napier, with Wolseley as Chief of the Staff, might do.'

From Lord Beaconsfield, February 17.

'MY DEAR HARDY

'I agree to your proposals as to Command, and Chief of the staff; after all, in their way our two best men.

'But no time should be lost in telegraphing for Napier of Magdala, and he should be asked to authorise Garnet Wolseley to confer with Her Majesty's Government, and make preparations in the interval that must occur before the arrival of the Commander in Chief. There is no time to be lost—much depends upon the power to act, when we do act, with promptness.

'Yours sincerely,

'B.'

D. February 19.—'I had to make arrangements for telegraphing to Lord Napier, who, with Wolseley as Chief of the Staff, is to command if need be, which God forbid! We had a Cabinet at one, but the expectation of a message from Gortchakoff in the afternoon checked our decisions upon the telegrams received, which were various and curious enough. I hope things look better, but if Boulair be safe, will they keep out of Constantinople?'

D. February 20.—'At the Cabinet we could only agree to get further explanations, as the Russian telegram was too vague. We sat at 11.'

D. February 21.—'Cardinal Pecci elected Pope yesterday.'

D. February 22.—'The telegrams bring grave intelligence. The exorbitant demands of Russia may drive Turkey

to desperation, and yet by the hold which the former has got through the armistice, what resistance can be made? We came to serious resolutions as to Boulair (which however is arranged for the present) and Constantinople.'

At this stage came my own return to Parliament for a vacancy at Canterbury caused by the resignation of Mr. Butler-Johnstone. On this occasion I was returned unopposed, a piece of good fortune not destined to recur in my Parliamentary experience. I was returned on Saturday, March 2, so for the short remainder of my father's time in the House of Commons he had two sons as colleagues in that assembly. The entry for February 27 refers to this. It was my birthday, and such anniversaries in the family were never left unnoticed by my father.

D. February 27.—'Alfred's birthday, to be spent very busily, I dare say! May he see many happy returns of it in a life of usefulness and honour! Yesterday had a talk with Beaconsfield about preparations. He had seen Lord Napier, with whom I had an interview on Monday. If the Government could announce a great emergency we could act, but would it be right to do so? I think we must see the terms of peace, and decide against which we will set ourselves. It seems from the papers that the Liberals have resolved not to fight Canterbury, so Alf will be M.P. on Saturday—my age when I contested Bradford.'

D. March 3.—'Our Cabinet was very determined, but somewhat vague in designs. Derby as usual "so far only." I saw Napier, and Wolseley, and took them to Beaconsfield; not much came of it, but they have to think over what was said. Napier seems to me feeling the effects of age.'

D. March 7.—'Cabinet at 12, at which Lord Lyons was present, and gave us interesting information about

French feeling, which confirms what Bruce had told me of his conversation with Gambetta. France wants quiet—no Conference, or no active part in it. Wishes to act with us in Egypt to prevent our acting alone. At 4.30 I had another interview with Beaconsfield, who is bent on a material guarantee, and seems to disregard military considerations. We came to no settlement, but the matter will be discussed to-day. The Peace signed makes a great difference. Perhaps we can arrange with the Sultan what may be admitted by all parties.'

D. March 9.—'We had a long and interesting Cabinet, and came to a decided resolution, all but D., who reserved himself. I hope we shall lay down our principles, for, if we cannot, without, the Conference. It is no use to enter unless we know what we can, and what we cannot, do. We at least avoided yesterday what I thought a dangerous and yet unmeaning move, and showed that we are agreed in principle, if not in time and place.'

D. March 21.—'Our Cabinet was at 5.45, and we adopted a proposal of Cairns for further communication with Russia. Münster told me she would not recede, and I replied that we would not.'

All this time the labour of conducting the Annual Army Bill through the House of Commons was added to the harassing consideration of the dangerous situation abroad, and the necessarily arduous preparation for a possible expedition. My father was not naturally very even-tempered, and although I was aware of the control he had gained over his impetuosity I was amazed to see the patience with which he faced the nightly obstruction of the Irish. Such entries as this of March 26 frequently recur: 'Mutiny Bill on till after one o'clock, so that, but to snatch a mouthful, I never left my seat. Reiterations of O'Donnell, Parnell,

O'Connor Power, over and over again. At the end I calmly said a few words to express what I thought. We meet again at 2 to resume the wearisome business, which may last for nights at the rate at which we have been moving.' Lord Beaconsfield alludes to this difficulty in the important letter which follows, the precursor of the calling out of the reserves, and of Lord Derby's final retirement.

Beaconsfield to Hardy, March 27.

'I have been most anxious to see you, these last 8 and 40 hours especially, but your infernal Mutiny Bill and mutineers have prevented my having that advantage.

'Rest assured the critical time has arrived, when we must declare the emergency.

'We are drifting into war. If we are bold and determined we shall secure peace, and dictate its conditions to Europe.

'I shall put before the Cabinet to-day my views, which are, at least, well matured, and if they are adopted, we shall be acknowledged not to be unequal to the trying situation—on you I very mainly count. We have to maintain the empire and secure peace—I think we can do both.'

The next entry gives the result of the Cabinet; it happens to come on an important private anniversary, as well as on the great public occasion which led directly to the writer's departure from the War Office and the House of Commons. I give the entry in its entirety:

D. March 29.—'Forty years of happy married life. God bless and preserve her who has shared it! It is a dreary look-out from the window, gloom and snow. I got through my Mutiny Bill last night, but not until 12.30. The dogged pertinacity of the two or three is shameless, and takes no account of the feelings of hundreds who divide

against them. The great event, however, was Derby's resignation, and the announcement by Beaconsfield that we should call out the Reserves. He said, it seems, "Reserved forces," and gave rise to rumours of embodied militia, volunteers, &c. I explained in answer to Hartington when Committee of Supply came on at 12.30. Poor Smith has his Marine Mutiny Bill to-day, but I hope the force has been expended on me, and that the morning sitting may see him through.'

The following letter from Lord Derby gives his views at the time of his resignation:

Derby to Hardy, March 30, 1878.

'MY DEAR HARDY

'Let me thank you for your very kind and friendly note. You may be sure that there will be no change in our personal relations, and it may very well be, as you say, that the changes of Parliamentary life may bring us again in official connection. But that I do not look forward to: indeed the last years of the Foreign Office have made the prospect of rest more attractive than that of power. Meanwhile I wish you all success and happiness; and nobody will be better pleased than I if you pull through this mess without a war.

'Very truly yours,

'DERBY.'

In 1893 Gathorne Hardy thus records his mature views on the resignation of his two colleagues:

S. 1878.—'January was a month of anxiety in Eastern Affairs, on which Carnarvon and Derby, though not in union, were each in his way unreliable. Constitutionally

different, they had the same defect of not acting logically upon their opinions if risk or danger were involved. Derby put off action, and was with difficulty pressed into replying to despatches. Carnarvon could not make up his mind to a policy of action which was the inevitable result of professions in which he had concurred. Carnarvon was the first to go, after not a little trying the patience of his colleagues, who were very forbearing. In 1885–6, he verified Lord Sydney's forecast. Personally he was an amiable and honourable gentleman, and we were very friendly, but I am bound to say that in politics he was not trustworthy. Fanciful and impressible, he was carried away from reason by emotion, and, without being selfish in intention, he thought first of his own feelings without regard to those of his colleagues and supporters. No one condemned him more than Derby till both were out.

'Derby had qualities of prudence in speaking which commended him to the public, but he had no enthusiastic followers. If he had contented himself by withdrawal from the Government one would not have complained, though his grounds were untenable after the action he had taken or agreed in. But after serving in four Conservative Governments with a strong animus against Gladstone, that he should have taken office under him seemed to me unjustifiable. Still, I regret that I once spoke too strongly of his defection, after our long friendly relations. Peace be with him! He is gone.'

D. March 30.—'Events crowd on. Beaconsfield sent for me yesterday morning, as I imagined on Army affairs, but it was to urge me to take India. He said that his difficulties were great, and that it would be a favour to him if I assented. I did as I have always done with him, placed myself at his disposal, and, I think unwisely, did not

stipulate for my removal from the Lower House. I wrote subsequently to express a wish to that effect. I am so weary of the House of Commons.'

Hardy to Beaconsfield, March 30.

'The longer I reflect, the more I feel that I have not expressed to you the earnest desire that I feel to be relieved from the strain and weariness of the House of Commons. I have fulfilled the obligations which I undertook when Northcote became leader of the House, and our relations have been thoroughly cordial. All my personal interest however is gone, and I cannot see that there is a political reason for my remaining there. It would be very unusual to have four out of five Secretaries of State in one House, and I may add that you want places for more young men in the Lower one. . . . Age comes on, though I am yet well and strong. Whatever honours I may receive I wish to share with one who has made my life so happy, and to see more of home than I can possibly do in the House of Commons. I place myself now in your hands, and, referring to what passed two years ago, I do not think you will consider me unreasonable.

'Yours sincerely and gratefully,

'GATHORNE HARDY.'

The following letter received from the Duke of Cambridge is a graceful acknowledgment of his services at the War Office:

H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge to Hardy, March 30.

'MY DEAR HARDY

'Your letter has indeed surprised me, though I heard in the House of Lords that Lord Salisbury was to succeed Lord Derby, and that you were likely to take his

place, young Stanley succeeding you here. If agreeable to you, I can only congratulate you on the change about to take place, but for myself I grieve to hear that we are to lose you, though should Stanley succeed you here, there is no one that I could think of in political life who would be equally acceptable to me. I assure you that I shall miss you most constantly and very sincerely. Nothing could have been more acceptable to me than the manner in which you have at all times listened to what I had to say, and the very frank and fair manner in which you have at all times accepted my views, and a more agreeable coadjutor in the difficulties we have had to contend with could not have been found. May every success attend you in your new sphere of action! and it is agreeable to me to think, that at times I may yet be brought in official contact with the new Secretary of State for India. I remain, my dear Hardy,

'Your most sincere friend and wellwisher,

'GEORGE.'

D. March 31.—'I did not stay at the War Office for fear of H.R.H., to whom I wrote, however, confidentially announcing the change, but going no further, as indeed I was not authorised to do. I have had a very kind note in reply. Our Cabinet was at four, after Beaconsfield's return from Windsor. He made known to our colleagues Salisbury's and my exchange, and that he intended offering War to Stanley, who I presume will not doubt about accepting. For Deedes' sake I hope so, and indeed my only regret at leaving the War Office is that I have done so little for him. After the Cabinet B. called me to his room and said that Her Majesty would give me a Viscountcy, " which I had well earned," and he himself spoke most warmly of my claims,

and of his pleasure in furthering my wishes. As things stand I remain, however, at least until Easter while debates may be coming on in the House of Commons. I had a short talk with Northcote of the most cordial character, and all seems prosperous.'

When my father's elevation to the Upper House was decided upon there was much woe and grief in the House of Commons, and many efforts were made to induce him at least to defer his departure.

'Can you not,' writes Edward Taylor, 'be persuaded to remain in the House of Commons a little while longer, till we can judge what will be the outcome of the present crisis? *All* our friends are loud in their lamentations that our strongest man in debate is about to leave us when most needed. Do not suppose that I am so illogical or inconsiderate as to desire you to put off indefinitely your translation to the Peers, but if the session is too much to ask, pray let it be Whitsuntide instead of Easter. There is another reason for this which I put to you as a good-hearted man. Lord George Hamilton is nervous, out of health and "all to pieces," to use a cant phrase. Let him take the six weeks or two months complete rest, and wait generously till his return fit for work.'

A memorial was also presented to him signed by 150 Members on April 5 urging him to delay his promotion:

'We cordially recognise your claims, and rejoice at your success, but we cannot but feel that your loss to the Conservative party in the House of Commons at this momentous crisis in public affairs would be irreparable. We venture therefore as your hearty supporters at all times,

to ask that you will pray Her Majesty to defer your elevation to the House of Lords till such time as the pressing difficulties now surrounding us may be diminished.'

My father was of course gratified at the value placed upon his services, but many considerations, besides those stated in the Diary, weighed with him in inducing him not to postpone his retirement. Many of his Oxford supporters were anxious that, as an election was known to be at hand, the vacancy should not be postponed; but the crucial argument against delay was his disinclination to be in any way placed in competition with the friend and leader who had been chosen to succeed Disraeli in the House of Commons. It is idle to deny that he felt himself in a false position in the second place, but having accepted it, he was determined to afford no opportunity for intrigue or disloyalty. Other reasons appear in the entries which follow.

D. April 4.—'It is extraordinary to me that such a coil is made about my leaving the House of Commons. I really did not know the value set upon me, and feel how deeply exaggerated it all is. They speak of a Memorial to me!'

D. April 5.—'This was brought me last night, signed by over 150 Members—Bartley and C. Russell were the bearers. I gave no definite reply, for I must watch and wait; but I see difficulties in remaining, as those who are to be leaders should come forward at once.'

D. April 9.—'Last night the debate on the Message began. Gladstone was violent and intemperate, coming in before the amendment with a view, I suppose, of making a second speech. I made a note on a piece of paper picked up from the floor, after which he directed his remarks to me, so that I felt bound to speak, though I had made no preparation. I got a large and attentive audience, and felt

that at least I answered Gladstone's criticisms. As I left immediately when I had done, I did not hear more than the kind commendations of those who sat near me, but what may be my last speech was heartily applauded.'

D. April 10 (the 30th anniversary of the great Chartist scare).—'Thirty years ago what a stir in this great city! What a changed tone among the people, even with all the latent evil! I had my first Council yesterday, which went smoothly, and, so far as I can see, one ought to get on satisfactorily with it. At the House all spoke favourably of what I had said the night before. I heard Hartington perform his laborious task laboriously. Northcote replied shortly and well. 319 to 64 including Gladstone. The Opposition front left the House. Mowbray says Oxford urges no delay, so probably after Easter my place in the House of Commons will know me no more.'

D. April 11.—'At our Cabinet yesterday we agreed to action as regards Germany, which may bring important and peaceful consequences.'

D. April 17, Hemsted.—'We had a short Cabinet, after which the House, where a long waste of time took place on the adjournment. . . Stewart and I came away before it was over; we ought perhaps to have remained, especially as in all probability I shall return no more, Beaconsfield agreeing to my elevation after the recess, and, as Cross said, it is far better, unless I mean to stay the Session.'

During the recess he paid his farewell visit to Oxford, where he attended a great meeting at Keble, where Lord Selborne and Gladstone were also present. Universal regret was expressed at the prospect of losing him. The venerable Dr. Pusey writes: 'I am very sorry to hear that we are to lose you as a representative, the more that we shall not have your like.' He at first intended to commemorate his

membership for the University, of which he was intensely proud, by becoming Viscount Oxford, but as it was found to be the title of an extinct peerage, he decided to take his title from Cranbrook, a little country town on the borders of his property, and one of the 'Seven Hundreds' of which he was Lord. He added his mother's family name of Gathorne to that of Hardy at the desire of his wife and family, with the consent of the surviving head of his mother's house.

D. April 16.—'Richard Gathorne writes a nice note agreeing to my adopting his name with mine, which the children all wish, and I yield somewhat reluctantly, as it looks like vanity. I confess Hardy does for me, and its shortness is a recommendation. When I found that Oxford would be weighted with representatives of the late family I at once gave it up, and am glad I had done so before being applied to by Lady C. Bacon and Mr. Bacon of Herefordshire. They wrote in a very amiable spirit; but I was able to say that all intention was gone, and now Cranbrook is to give me a name.'

Towards the end of the recess he visited Bradford, where he met with a great reception. He spoke at St. George's Hall to an enthusiastic audience, defending the action of the Government on the Eastern Question, for which he received the solemn thanks of the Sublime Porte, formally presented by the Turkish Ambassador Musurus Pacha, 'for what part I know not, for it was in guarded language, but probably the non-interference by force was what they liked.'

D. April 28, Lowmoor.—'Our journey down' (to Bradford) 'was rapid and easy. An enormous crowd was assembled here to receive me, and present an address. I really wish it had been an hour earlier than 8, as it was too dark to see or be seen. I spoke, under difficulties and shortly,

in a dense mass of people, and our progress from the station was as slow as it had been fast to it. . . The meeting at St. George's was magnificent. I was enthusiastically received, and all the points I made were taken. Everybody present was pleased. Plunket made a most amusing speech, and sent all away merry. It certainly was a most remarkable gathering. Of course, I omitted much, and especially regret not speaking of my hopes and expectations of peace, which I really feel, and expressed in private to many.'

Thus, as he notes in the Summary, he made his last speech as a member of the House of Commons at his native town, where he began his efforts for a seat in 1847. On May 3 his Peerage appeared in the Gazette, and his career in the House of Commons came to a close. Congratulations flowed in from all quarters, a telegram from the Prince and Princess of Roumania, couched in the gracious terms 'Carmen Sylva' knows so well how to use, giving especial pleasure. His Kent neighbours invited him to a banquet in Cranbrook, and it was held on July 26, with Mr. Beresford Hope in the Chair. I was myself present, and have a vivid recollection of the enthusiasm that prevailed. I subjoin my father's own account of the gathering, with which this chapter may fittingly conclude:

D. July 26.—'The dinner at Cranbrook began at 4.45. We drove through the town, which was gaily decorated, and, on our return, illuminated. Indeed, every effort was made to show us regard and respect, and very gratifying it was. The tent was filled, and with a most respectable assembly from all parts. The dinner was better managed than any I can remember, and was very good. In an hour we were ready for the speeches, and Hope lost no time in beginning. He was too laudatory, but humorous, and

excellent as a Chairman. I was very heartily received, and so was my address, which was entirely free from party politics. The speeches were generally to the purpose, and all agreed in the good management, as well as the enthusiasm of the demonstration. I shall ever remember with gratitude such a welcome.'

CHAPTER XXII

THE INDIA OFFICE (1878)

GATHORNE HARDY returned to London on May 4, known no longer by that name, as he had been gazetted Viscount Cranbrook the night before. He attended a Cabinet on the same day, and received the hearty congratulations of his colleagues. All seemed prosperous both with himself personally and with the Government. Lord Salisbury's despatch, the 'Happy Despatch' as it was called, had cleared the air, and the strong measure of bringing Indian troops to Malta, instead of making for war, was, at least in the opinion of Lord Cranbrook, a potent factor in producing a peaceful settlement. In his Diary, and in the private letters he wrote to Lord Lytton and to the Duke of Buckingham, this view is frequently expressed, and he adds that Count Münster openly and loudly stated the same opinion. The 'Peace with Honour' soon came; but strangely enough, the scene of difficulty almost immediately shifted to the Indian frontier, and gave the new Secretary of State the labouring oar to ply once more. Before turning to Indian affairs I will complete the references in the Diary to the Eastern Question, and other matters not departmental.

D. May 4, 1878.—'Sandon is to be made, on my departure, a Cabinet Minister, so he gains at all events. Our Cabinet was very interesting, and I really hope and believe that our way is the way of peace.'

D. May 10.—'The Drawing-room withdrew me early

from the India Office. We were duly presented, and Her Majesty's pressure of my hand when I raised hers to my lips was an indication of goodwill which has never been wanting.'

The next entry refers to an incident in the career of his dear friend George Howard Wilkinson, afterwards successively Bishop of Truro and of St. Andrews. Till death separated them, they often turned to one another for guidance and counsel.

D. May 11.—'Mr. Wilkinson came early yesterday to ask my opinion of the offer of the East End Suffragan Bishopric. The letter of the Bishop of London was all that could be desired in tone and feeling, and had been supplemented by a promise of almost complete freedom of action. So far, therefore, there could be no impediment; and we both agreed in the generally obligatory character of a special call. The difficulty seems to me in giving up work which can be permanent, for that which may be very temporary: but perhaps self should not come into such consideration, but the supply should be left in God's hands. However, I promised to think it all over and write to him.'

D. May 12.—'Our Cabinet received the addition of Sandon yesterday; and was interesting. Salisbury's proposals were in principle adopted. While riding, Münster told me of the attempt on the life of his Emperor and its failure. In the evening a confirmatory telegram reached us. It took place at 4 P.M. yesterday. A curious thing was, that Prince Teck had asked me whether I had heard of the recall of the Crown Princess, of which he had heard a rumour early in the day but no confirmation.'

D. May 15.—'Last evening I went through the quaint and somewhat absurd ceremony of taking my seat in the

House of Lords. Hawarden and Hardinge were my supporting Viscounts, so now I am ready for all my functions! In the House of Commons the night before, they sat on Sunday closing till 9·35 yesterday morning, and I fear our followers broke away from Northcote, who would have reported progress, which should have been done; I have not much to chronicle of Monday, but went to the Grosvenor Gallery, some pictures very good, but most fantastic. Yesterday my Council' (the Indian Council) 'who clearly have an animus against Lytton.'

D. May 16.—'We had an interesting Cabinet, and there seem better hopes of peace, or at least, of entering into Congress upon fair conditions.'

D. May 18.—'I was at the Levée yesterday, for which the Prince had come back from his popular visit to Paris. The Crown Prince of Germany was with him. I doubt if I have noted the attempt to assassinate the Emperor (see May 12). Its complete failure and the isolation of the would-be assassin have made it less important, but it roused a fine loyal feeling everywhere. The Oxford election has proved the strength of Conservative feeling unmistakeably, and will or ought to make it a quiet seat.' (Mr. John Talbot was returned against Professor Henry Smith.[1] He represented the University, where there has never since been a contest, until the dissolution of 1910.)

D. May 24.—'Schouvaloff was in the Park, but was silent upon all until he had seen Salisbury; the result we shall hear in to-day's Cabinet. The German invitation may smooth difficulties, as it proposes "La libre discussion de la totalité du contenu du traité de St. Stéfano." We, as a matter of duty, went to the German Ambassador's to pay our respects to the Crown Prince and Princess, both

[1] Mr. Talbot died February 1, 1910.

of whom were very gracious.' (This disproves the canard reported May 12.) Münster said *aloud* that our bringing Indian troops had done more for peace than anything.'

D. May 25.—'We had a very interesting Cabinet yesterday, and agreed to much in the Russian proposals, and to the German mode of convening the Congress. Our telegram to Layard is, however, the critical one concerning the island in the East.' (The first allusion to the Cyprus Convention.)

D. May 26.—'A Cabinet at which all but Stanley (absent for a domestic reason) were present and agreeing, although in the afternoon we heard that rumours of dissensions and resignations had had a damaging effect on the funds in the City. What rascally canards are set flying for sinister purposes! We have to wait for Schouvaloff's answer from his Court, but he is sanguine, and I do not see how a Congress can fail to come off. The Chief was not so hopeful, but I think that he was tired and out of spirits from some cause. My State Banquet was a success. Abergavenny's kindness gave me a splendid room, and the rest appeared excellently done. 37 with myself.'

D. May 30.—'Lord Russell died on Tuesday night, and we agreed at the Cabinet yesterday that a public funeral should be offered. Much in his career I objected to, but it was a great one after all. So far, all is going steadily for a Congress, and for our preliminary agreement with Russia, but Schouvaloff had not had his final reply from home.'

D. June 1.—'Yesterday was a day of calamities. In the morning the German ironclad *Kurfürst* went down off Sandgate, after collision with the *König Wilhelm*, which was seriously injured. I fear the loss of life was very

great, but we shall hear more particulars to-day. Russell Gurney died; and Wykeham Martin fell dead from his chair in the Library of the House of Commons. All sad events! One good one took place the day before in the signature of our memoranda with Russia, so that the Congress, and, I hope, peace, is assured.'

D. June 2.—'Our Cabinet short and decisive; the agreement to Congress come to. Beaconsfield and Salisbury to go, the former only attending at the commencement to show perfect unity of opinion. Some sensation will follow the announcement.'

D. June 3.—'A dull cold Sunday, and marked by another horrible incident. The Emperor of Germany was fired at, at 2.30, and wounded in the arm and cheek, but to what extent injured the telegram did not say. It looks as if there was a continuing plot. Nihilism, Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies—how much hold have these in Europe! God preserve us from their evils here!'

D. June 6.—'At our Cabinet yesterday we went through, and carefully completed, our instructions to the plenipotentiaries. Beaconsfield will leave on Saturday; the Prince of Wales, like Miss Doyle, objecting to his departure on a Friday! We went afterwards to a reading by Mrs. Theodore Martin and Irving at Lady Burdett-Coutts's. I cannot say that I was very much impressed, nor did Mrs. Theodore Martin recall to me the Helen Faucit whom in former days I often saw. We dined with the Garnet Wolseleys.'

D. June 8.—'Our final Cabinet before the departure of the plenipotentiaries was at 12 yesterday. All was smooth and satisfactory, as indeed it has been since the change. Our arrangement with Russia, Austria, and Turkey ought to help to a good solution.'

D. June 10, Hemsted.—'The bells rang yesterday, and the school-children have been here to cheer us this morning' (on his becoming a peer). 'They make much of what seems to make no difference, but in the rest and time for work.'

D. June 13.—'Our Cabinet was cheerful. Letters from Beaconsfield and Salisbury cheering, and the former very amusing. The telegram brought in the settlement of Bulgaria and Roumelia, of which Bismarck said "There is again a Turkey in Europe."'

The next entry refers to the publication in the *Globe* of the Cyprus Convention, which caused a great sensation at the time:

D. June 15.—'The publication in the *Globe* is disgusting. It is wonderful how anything is kept secret with this prowling press. If anyone in the Foreign Office is in fault I hope detection may follow. Perhaps the harm may not be very great at the Congress, but the discussion here must be detrimental.'

D. June 24.—'Beaconsfield's vigour brought Russia to terms, but for 48 hours the Congress was in danger. Bulgaria is settled and the rest will probably move more rapidly.'

D. July 14.—'The Treaty was signed at 3.15. Peace! May it be enduring, and for the good of the East!'

D. July 17.—'Wonderful weather, at present without overpowering heat. Our Plenipos had a grand reception in Dover and in London, though, of course I did not see it, though the crowds lingered, when Cairns and I went to call on the Chief after the House was up. He was cheerful, but admitted that he was rather out of sorts, and he looked so, yet, after the fatigue of a long journey, not more than one would have expected. He became animated, and told

us the curious history of plots and intrigues baffled by firmness, and yet there were times when all seemed coming to an end. Bismarck evidently thought he could carry everything, but found himself mistaken. We dined at the Hoggs', and passed on to the Falmouths', where for the first time I saw and heard the phonograph. The Bishop of Truro (Benson) was at the Hoggs', and I was very much pleased with what I saw of him. What I heard shows his fitness for Cornwall.'

D. July 18.—'A Cabinet at which we heartily welcomed our colleagues, and found B. very much better for a day's rest. Until he speaks there is little to be guessed at, for the Opposition are silent. I had some talk with Salisbury about Indian affairs, on which I think we shall agree.'

The following entry of July 19 is important, both from its giving the writer's version of a disputed question, and for the light it throws, as I have said before, on his view of his obligations and restrictions as to noting Cabinet matters. With regard to Lord Derby's reasons for his resignation the late Dowager Lady Iddesleigh gave me permission to use the following memorandum of Lord Iddesleigh, part of which has already been quoted in Mr. Lang's Biography of that statesman. It is quite clear that Lord Derby was mistaken, but all points to a slip of memory.

'It will be remembered that Lord Derby stated in the House of Lords that when he left the Government we had decided upon a buccaneering expedition for the purpose of seizing some Turkish territory, and that Lord Salisbury very pointedly contradicted him, on the authority not only of his own memory, but of the memories of several of his

colleagues. Lord Salisbury was quite justified in his contradiction, but I have no doubt that Lord Derby gave correctly his own impression of what had passed. The Cabinet to which he referred was the last which he attended. It was a moment of extreme anxiety, when the Russians appeared to be advancing on Constantinople, and when we had some reason to apprehend a still more inconvenient advance to the coast of Asia Minor, which would threaten the Suez Canal, and the Euphrates valley, and so intercept our communications with India. The Prime Minister, who had previously been in communication with Lord Salisbury and myself, and one or two other colleagues, but not (I think) with Lord Derby (though of this I do not feel sure), proposed to us the despatch of a force from India, which should occupy Alexandretta and Cyprus, and should so secure the Euphrates route and cut off the Russians from an advance on Egypt. I am not sure with whom the idea of employing Indian troops originated, but I think it came either from Lord Salisbury or Lord Lytton. It was a matter far too serious to be hastily decided on, though the majority of the Cabinet appeared to be pleased with it. A question was raised as to asking the consent of the Porte to a step involving the occupation of a part of its dominions, and a somewhat curt answer was given, to the effect that in the case supposed the Porte would not be much of a free agent. The matter was then laid aside and we discussed the question of calling out the Reserves. While this was going on, Salisbury wrote on a sheet of note-paper some words to this effect—"It is agreed that the cost of bringing the Indian troops to the Mediterranean shall be defrayed by the English Exchequer"; and he handed this to me across Smith, who was sitting between us, and asked me to sign it. I shook my head, and he said, "Surely that is but common

justice." I wrote on the paper something to this effect: "I do not consider that we have agreed to bring the troops—I have not made up my own mind to it; but if we do, then I think England should bear the expense." Salisbury kept this paper, and showed it to me after the scene in the House of Lords. I sent a copy of it to Derby, who wrote to me expressing his surprise at Salisbury's contradiction. But the fact is that Derby was in a state of much excitement, having made up his mind to resign, and he did not distinguish between the conversation about the Indian troops, and the decision about the Reserves. He did indeed revert to the subject when I saw him shortly after the Cabinet, and spoke to him on the subject of his resignation. He said, "When are these Indian troops to start?" to which I replied, "I do not think it is at all settled that they are to start at all. I, for one, have not made up my mind to it yet."

'As a matter of fact we were far from having come to a positive conclusion, even to call for the Indian troops, still less to bring them to any foreign territory. As soon as Hardy had succeeded to the India Office, and had begun to look about him, he found the question a very difficult one, and I understood him to be disinclined to the step.' (I find no trace of this in the diary or letters.) 'Meanwhile Salisbury had taken the Foreign Office, and his "happy despatch," as it was called, reviewing the state of affairs as left by the treaty of St. Stephano, had produced a great effect both at home and abroad. It looked as though we might now hope to bring about a fair and free conference without any more military demonstrations.'

Such was Sir Stafford Northcote's impression, and it will be seen that it is fully confirmed by my father's entry of July 19:

D. July 19.—'Still very hot, and the crowd in the House of Lords made it oppressive there. Beaconsfield's statement led to a long talk, which Derby's strange statement gave a spice to. I feel confident that Cyprus was not mentioned when he left the Cabinet, nor was any special expedition decided on. The necessity for a post in the East of the Mediterranean had been agreed to by the Cabinet, and I believe he remained with us two or three weeks after it. The discussion about Alexandretta and contemplation of the possibility of taking it by Indian troops was on the day he decided to leave us, but inquiries were to be made, and no action was settled. Northcote saw him after the Cabinet and told him so, and said that he himself had not come to any conclusion. However, the difference of opinion as to what occurred will be much discussed outside, and I suppose, according to party views. My care in not writing down Cabinet affairs prevents my having a record. There is no doubt that Alexandretta, if, on inquiry, it seemed suitable, was the object of the Cabinet and that we were agreed that some place in the East was needful.'

I conclude my account of the episode by quoting a memorandum made by Lord Cross, to whom I tender my sincere thanks for permission to make use of it:

'It was not till the month of July, when Lord Beaconsfield laid upon the table the protocols of the Congress of Berlin, that Lord Derby really explained the grounds of his resignation: "It was," he said, "on account of the decision that it was necessary to secure a naval station at the Eastern part of the Mediterranean, and that for that purpose it was necessary to seize upon and occupy the

Island of Cyprus" (which was part of the Turkish Empire), together with a point on the Syrian Coast "with or without the consent of the Sultan." He was quite correct as to the desire of the Cabinet to secure such a naval station, and one of the Greek islands had been carefully surveyed, and found unsuitable. He was, however, quite incorrect as to Cyprus. In the very unpleasant debate which followed, Lord Salisbury was able to show that all his colleagues were certain that Cyprus was never named in Cabinet while Lord Derby was a member, and there is also the testimony of Lord Derby's brother, Fred Stanley, who joined the Cabinet when his brother left, that he remembered the amazement of the Cabinet when Cyprus was mentioned for the first time. However, Lord Derby stuck to his point, and stated that he had made a note of the proposal at the time. "Cyprus suggested," I said, "certainly not." How are these statements to be reconciled? It is quite clear that as we were at the time contending for the integrity of Turkey, we could never have contemplated dismemberment by the seizure of Cyprus. The only suggestion I can make as to reconciling these statements is that Lord Beaconsfield may have whispered to Lord Derby, who always sat on his left hand: "What do you say as to Cyprus?" The Cabinet certainly never heard a word about it at that time.'

D. August 3.—'143 majority, and a majority of the whole House concludes the debate on Hartington's motion' (condemning the Cyprus Convention). 'What a triumph for us whose real working majority is 52! Sandon, John Manners, and Cross have done admirably, and I doubt not Northcote, at whose speech I have not yet looked. Nevertheless we have our work before us to bring order out of chaos, and to effect the good we intend.'

It was the common opinion (see Lowe and Sanders, 292) that had Lord Beaconsfield dissolved Parliament in this hour of triumph the Conservatives would have carried the country, but it is to the credit of the Chief and of his Cabinet, who were at one with him on the subject, that they declined to make party capital out of a question of foreign policy. The matter was under discussion at the last Cabinet of the Session held on August 10.

D. August 13.—'We had a very long (3 hours) final Cabinet on Saturday, winding up many affairs with no variance of opinion, and agreeing to no dissolution.'

The papers relating to my father's tenure of the India Office are of the most voluminous character, and it would require volumes to summarise them were I to attempt the task. There is an enormous deed-box containing private letters of Lord Lytton, the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Richard Temple, and other provincial Governors to the Secretary of State, and three locked folio volumes of copies of his own correspondence with them. Hardly a mail passed without the exchange of long private letters, many of which are quoted in Lady Betty Balfour's brilliant and judicial sketch of her father's administration, in which the story of the Afghan troubles are told once for all. I shall certainly not attempt a second history of the same transactions.

A letter of his predecessor, Lord Salisbury, dated March 30, welcomed the new Indian Secretary to his post:

'It is a great satisfaction to me that you have consented to go to the India Office. My interest in what is going on there has naturally become so strong, that it would have been a great sorrow to me if the office had fallen into less powerful hands.'

A friendly telegram from Lord Lytton also greeted him on his first appearance there. His Council was not always unanimous, but on the whole he managed to secure the adhesion of a sufficient majority to his despatches and action. Lord Salisbury, in a characteristic letter of the year before, had complained (June 5, 1877) of the constant interruptions.

'It is one of the rules of this place that everybody may interrupt you for as long and as often as he pleases.'

To give some idea of the varied subjects of the correspondence I have jotted down a few heads of the matters discussed at length in the first few pages of the letter-books: The arrangements for the transport of the Indian troops to Malta, Persia, Siam, Aden; the Press Act, the Famine, with which the Duke of Buckingham had strenuously grappled in Madras; judicial appointments, harbour defences, native employment, the visit of the Shah of Persia to England, the gold standard, and the report of the Deccan Commission on usury. As to this latter, there is a letter from Miss Florence Nightingale inclosing an article she had written in the *Nineteenth Century*:

'DEAR LORD CRANBROOK

'Very meekly I venture to send you a poor little article of mine on the people of India, in the *Nineteenth Century*. I hope if you read it you will not call it a shriek (I am astonished at my own moderation)—I am not so troublesome as to expect that you can find time to read it, but the India Office has untold treasures (which it does not know itself) in reports on these subjects which will engage your busy time, and especially the recent Deccan Ryots Commission report, on the relation of the ryots and the extortionate money-lenders in the Bombay Deccan, will I

am sure call for your attention. Can there be any private enterprise in trade or commerce, in manufactures, or in new interests, where to money-lending are guaranteed by our own courts, profits, enormous and easy profits, which no enterprise of the kind that India most wants can rival? What are the practicable remedies for extortionate usury in India, and principally in the Bombay Deccan? The Bill now before the Legislative Council at Simla does not seem to promise much. Does it? The whole subject is, I know, before you.

'Pray believe me (with some wonder at my own audacity)

'Ever your faithful and grateful servant,

'FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.'

The answer is not forthcoming, but its tenor may be gathered from the following extract from a letter to Lord Lytton dated August 13:

'Miss Nightingale says that we, i.e. the English, do not care for the people of India; and her article in the *19th Century* is a sensational commentary on that text. She has sent it to me, and I have told her that she has generalised from one small and unhappy area, to the whole. I shall be truly glad, however, if your legislation can afford a remedy to that limited locality referred to in the Deccan Commission report, and I am afraid that its application would be useful over a much more extensive field, though not all our Indian Empire. Famine has outdone the usurer, and brought the peasantry to a more complete subservience to him than ever.'

He soon started for the North on his holiday, going first to Muncaster, Lord Muncaster's beautiful place in Cumberland, which he greatly enjoyed and admired, in spite of

unfavourable weather; then to Murthly and next to Poltalloch, where my wife and I were, as usual, spending the autumn. He arrived (on August 28) at an unlucky moment, as my brother-in-law, John Wingfield Malcolm, had just been defeated by Lord Colin Campbell in the by-election for Argyllshire caused by Lord Lorne's appointment as Governor-General of Canada. He was full of health and vigour, fished in the rain without much success, spent a long and unsuccessful day in the pursuit of the wild fallow deer—'the sport requires patience, and would have been better with a book'—but was more reconciled to the sport when on September 4 at old Poltalloch he was fortunate enough to secure a fine buck, which took to the water when wounded, and swam half-way across the narrow part of Loch Craignish with the hounds after it before it was secured. I well remember the excitement with which he watched the chase from the heights of Benan with his telescope; and the vigour and zest with which he joined in all the sports of the place in spite of his sixty-four years. He left for Braemore, Sir John Fowler's beautiful place in Ross-shire in that hospitable friend's yacht, which had been sent down to Crinan to fetch him. He enjoyed his course 'through smooth waters with birds by day and phosphorescent flashes by night.' He records that even on the yacht he 'managed to get some Afghan reading done.' He arrived at the beautiful house, perched like an eagle's nest on the steep side of one of the high mountains of Ross-shire and delighted in the exquisite views and the glorious air. He stalked the deer day after day in the steep corries, but I had better drop a veil over his want of success. He expresses the surprise which many sportsmen more accustomed to the use of the rifle feel at missing a mark which looks so easy.

D. September 10.—'It seems curious to miss such marks, but even the best shots are not always perfect marksmen.

At the same time I doubt if I am wise in encountering so great a fatigue in climbing up and shaking down, but the scenery and air here really keep one cheery under all circumstances.'

D. September 15.—'I failed to secure the only stag we saw, for whose rising I sat 1½ hours by the clock in an exceedingly wet peat moss, and was duly soaked. I think old age is getting hold of me, for I am not excited or nervous, and do not think the stag's neighbourhood moves a pulse.'

But he soon had other and more important matters to distract his attention from such failures on the hill, for telegrams and letters, among them two most important ones from his Chief and Lord Salisbury, arrived with reference to the Chamberlain Mission to Cabul. This Mission of Sir Neville Chamberlain was starting, to convey to the Ameer, as my father writes to Lord Beaconsfield on September 8, condolences on the loss of his heir, and expressions of goodwill, but it was of course also meant as a counterblast to the Mission of General Stoletoff to Cabul, which had been received with honour by the Ameer just at the crisis of the sitting of the Berlin Congress. The Mission had been agreed to by the Cabinet, and was ordered by Lord Lytton, who told Sir J. Strachey on August 8 that he had received telegraphic permission to insist upon it, about that date, but further delay was ordered by telegraph at Lord Salisbury's request. Another difficulty arose in consequence of his instructions being issued in ignorance of the communications going on between the Foreign Office and the Russian Minister, M. Giers. A letter to Lord Beaconsfield, dated September 13, and written just at bedtime, after the long day on the hill to which the previous entry refers, gives the writer's views at the time:

'*Private.* 13 Sept.

'MY DEAR BEACONSFIELD

'Your note of yesterday came into my hands just before bedtime, but I defer that in order to reply. It would have been most satisfactory to me to have been within reach of you and Salisbury for full consultation on the proposed instructions to Chamberlain. As that was not possible I sent a form of reply for you to see, very much modifying them. In the meantime a telegram arrived last night asking me on the part of Lord Salisbury to delay the mission until an answer had been received from M. Giers to our "remonstrance." I ordered a telegraph to be sent forthwith to effect that object. The Cabinet on August 3rd agreed that a mission should be despatched to the Ameer, and so far as the India Office is concerned the Foreign Department has been kept informed of everything. On August 13, in a despatch recapitulating the state of affairs and notifying what had been done as to the sanction of the mission, I urged the Foreign Office to act at St. Petersburgh. So far we have had no reply, and I was not aware, nor could Lord Lytton be, that any remonstrance had been addressed to M. Giers. Some few days ago I forwarded to you Lord Lytton's private letters that you might know what is in his mind. I am so alive to the gravity of the matter that it has been my earnest desire not to take any step unknown to you and Salisbury, and I should have submitted all to the Cabinet had it been possible. I am sorry that Lytton has so ostentatiously proclaimed his intentions, as it may make future arrangements more embarrassing, but I think that the mission must go under some instructions or other, and even had there been no answer on the way from Livadia, the present ones must have been modified. I think that to

stop the mission would be most prejudicial after what has occurred, and the delay which must now take place will afford time for the consideration of fitting instructions. I sent a proposed answer to Lytton's telegram for you and Salisbury to see, and had directed my private secretary to arrest the mission until our full orders arrived. That will be done by the telegram suggested by the Foreign Office. It is time to come to some understanding about the position of Afghanistan in relation to ourselves, and inactivity will not meet the case. What terms we should offer the Ameer is another question, and one on which I am quite open to argument. A British resident on the frontiers would be of great use, as we get the most unreliable information at present when we get any at all. For a long time the Russian mission was not reported to us in such a way as to make it safe to act upon the rumour.

'2. I suppose no one will object to a subsidy if we secure the Ameer's good-will.

'3. A very *qualified* recognition of his successor, such as Lord Lytton proposes, if it would tend to gain him over would not be very dangerous.

'4. The defence of Afghan territory must be very strictly limited, and the particular boundaries defined. All must be founded on his acting on our advice, for we could not be responsible for what he may bring upon himself by independent action.

'These are the main points.

'Were I not bound for Balmoral on the 18th, I should have come south before this time to be nearer my work at such a crisis. I am very glad to hear that you have found a good restorative in a quiet home.

'Yours very sincerely,

'CRANBROOK.'

The private letter of Lord Lytton, which the writer refers to as having sent to Lord Beaconsfield a few days before, is very long, but is too interesting to omit. It gives the writer's considered views on the whole situation, and points out that the alternative lies between an agreement with Russia and a modified guarantee of the Afghan territories. It fills 17 typewritten pages and contains about 4000 words. Those who are not interested in the subject can easily leave it unread. Lord Beaconsfield, writing on September 13, comments on the great ability shown by this letter:

Lord Lytton to Lord Cranbrook.

'*Private.*

'SIMLA, *August 17, 1878.*

'MY DEAR LORD CRANBROOK

'I send you, thus privately, some confidential papers which I do not think it desirable to send you officially. They are some of the reports recently completed in answer to the enquiries which I started not long ago in anticipation of an early crisis in our relations with Afghanistan, which, meanwhile, has occurred sooner than ever I anticipated. Major Cavagnari's report you will find the most instructive. Dr. Bellew's is worth reading, but his information is a little out of date. Mr. Plowden's conclusion (which I have marked) respecting the Ameer's election of Russian in preference to British protection is, I am sorry to say, in accordance with my own, so far as it goes. If the Ameer had not been long ago completely alienated by the systematic stupidity and insincerity of our policy, I cannot doubt but what the forced presence of a Russian mission at Cabul, and its probable demands, would ere this have elicited from him some overture or

appeal to us. But he has apparently (making a virtue of necessity) treated the Russian mission as a flattering tribute to the importance acquired by Afghanistan under his rule. This, at least, is the language he holds about it to his own subjects; and he has answered the Russian letters, delivered by General Abramoff, without the slightest reference to us. About six years ago, when Kauffmann first began to write letters and send agents to him, the Ameer was unaffectedly alarmed, sent the letters to us, asked us to dictate his replies to them, and appealed to us for protection against these attempts on the part of Russia to lift his purda. But, although the Kauffmann correspondence was a clear violation of the Gortschakoff assurances, we actually encouraged it, and impressed on the Ameer the importance to his own interests of keeping on good terms with Russia. You see the result. If the Ameer receives our own mission, it will probably be not with any desire to purchase our protection, but in the hope of selling to us, at an exorbitant price, his own alliance or neutrality. The *sine qua non* condition of any practical or satisfactory relations between us and the Ameer would be the agreement of His Highness not to hold relations with, or receive agents from, any other power; but it is scarcely to be expected that, so freshly after his ostentatious reception of the Russian mission, and his treatment of it as a tribute to his own importance, Shere Ali will now willingly assent to a condition which cannot but seem to him to involve a practical surrender of dignity and independence. Notwithstanding these probabilities, which must be faced, I believe it to be quite possible to retrieve the whole situation, and secure, once for all and for ever, that hold upon Afghanistan which is essential to the safety of our present frontier. Nay more, I think the present

opportunity, which is probably our last, is a very favourable one for doing this. But it can only be done by a very vigorous policy. Hesitation, ambiguity, or half-heartedness, in the prosecution of any course of action now adopted towards Afghanistan by Her Majesty's Government will, I am persuaded, prove fatal to its success, and only bequeath to those who come after us a terrible crop of dangers and difficulties. If Shere Ali is not, for any practical purpose, *with* us, he should at once be treated as, for all practical purposes, *against* us. All experience shows, I think, that the only safe policy for India, in the presence of any recognised danger, is the policy of *venienti occurrite morbo.* Our present Empire, and the long repose it has enjoyed of late years, are the results of measures taken in time to crush the power, not of actively inimical, but of undoubtedly ill-disposed and untrustworthy neighbours, before it could gather to a head. The dangers averted by these measures were only apparent to the statesmen who were closely watching the situation on the spot; they were incipient dangers, rarely realised in time by the home public. It was in this way that Lord Wellesley permanently pacified the Carnatic and the Deccan, and would have permanently pacified the North-West Provinces had not his Mahratta policy, in the very moment of achievement, been unfortunately reversed by orders from home, and the timidity of his successor. But what was the result? An arduous Mahratta war twenty years later. There is another consideration which it seems to me very necessary to keep in mind, as regards the Asiatic States and tribes surrounding our North-West frontier. Whatever portion of these regions and populations is not subject to British influence must inevitably fall subject to Russian influence, and wherever, in those

directions, the "masterly inactivity" of our own policy leaves a vacuum the masterly activity of Russian policy will fill it up. There could not be a more fatal delusion than that on which Lord Lawrence based his Afghan policy, and which was cherished to the last by Norman and his other disciples; that, if we left the Ameer to his own devices, occasionally bribing him with gifts, but requiring from him no corresponding obligations, and avoiding all acknowledged liabilities on his behalf, the first symptom of increasing pressure from Russia would throw him unconditionally into our arms. And the absurdity of this policy was completed by the fact that, while thus refraining from the most ordinary precautions to secure either the independence or the friendship of Afghanistan, we never ceased proclaiming, both here and in Parliament, that the one and the other were regarded by us as essential for our *own* security! Any present attempt to re-establish influence over the Ameer will entirely depend on the cogency with which we appeal to his *fears*. From his hopes we have nothing to expect. We must make him unmistakeably aware of our power to injure or destroy him, of our determination to do so if pushed to it in defence of our own interests, and of Russia's inability to protect him from the consequences of that hostility on our part which she has been enticing him to provoke. In all our dealings with the situation created by the presence of the Russian mission at Cabul, only one object seems to me admissible, viz.: to seize the present fortunate and favourable opportunity for effecting the permanent settlement of the Afghan question on a basis of our own selection, thus ensuring the stable tranquillity of our Central Asian frontiers.

'For the attainment of this object two courses are open

to Her Majesty's Government:—an immediate and definite understanding with Afghanistan, or an immediate and definite understanding with Russia. The first of these two courses can best be carried out by the Government of India, acting in concert with, and supported by, the Home Authorities. The 2nd, if adopted, must be the exclusive concern of Her Majesty's Government except in so far as regards the local execution of any agreement you may come to with the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh. This will of course devolve upon the Government of India.

'Long ere this letter reaches you, you will have received the two telegrams which reached me this morning from Teheran. These telegrams appear to confirm the impression suggested by previous information that Persia has been put on by Russia to pick a quarrel with Afghanistan, having as its object a pretext for attack upon Herat. Russia's present relations with Persia being what they are, and her present object being to connect her positions on the Oxus and the Atrek, her Turkistan possessions with her Caspian base, by bringing under her own influence, or that of a subordinate ally, a sufficient fringe of the fertile territory now belonging to the Ameer of Cabul, between Herat and the left bank of the Oxus, such an event would be extremely convenient to her, since it would enable her, undisturbed, to overrun the Akhal country, thus commanding Herat, to cover Merv, and to deal simultaneously with Balk and Maimena, whilst Herat itself was temporarily held for her by a virtually vassal power. Doubtless, also, you had read and studied, before it reached me from the intelligence department at home, Colonel Veninkoff's able and interesting paper on the progress of Russia in Central Asia. This Russian officer (who writes very judicially) observes, in stating the result of his unprejudiced experience and reflection,

that Russia "cannot halt in her progressive movement until she encloses on the south the steppes extending to Khorassan *and the Hindu Kush*! He asserts that the possession of Badakshan, or at least undisputed control over that portion of Afghanistan, is indispensable for the permanent security of Russia's Central Asian possessions; he thinks that the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh made a fatal mistake in accepting (as the result of negotiations with us) the line of the Oxus as the recognized boundary of Russian expansion and influence in the direction of India; and he concludes that the Russian power in Central Asia must always be a mere camp, practically at our mercy in the event of any serious quarrel with us, until Russian Turkistan has been solidly united with the Russian base on the Caspian, by the establishment of Russian authority or influence along the Afghan border from the Oxus and Herat, and along the Persian border from Herat up the Atrek valley: for which purpose, as he rightly points out, Russian expansion must secure free scope up to the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush; which will then remain the final boundary between the Russian and British Indian Empires. All this seems to me indisputably true; and, from a Russian point of view, most reasonable. I apprehend, therefore, that if you decide upon attempting a permanent settlement of the Afghan question by means of a pacific arrangement with Russia, the only possible basis of any such arrangement will be found in the voluntary abandonment of northern Afghanistan to Russian influence, and the adoption of the Hindu Kush and the Helmund as the ultimate limits of British influence. This seems to me inevitable, if the arrangement with Russia is to be *a pacific and amicable one*. For it is not to be expected that Russia will willingly accept any arrangement prejudicial to her interests (which she now so

clearly understands) and permanently incompatible with the realisation of her long-cherished desires. Personally, as you know, I should deprecate and regret any such arrangement. *First*, because it would, without a struggle, leave the Russian Empire conterminous with our own from the Oxus almost to the Persian Gulf, and, as we have twice fought for Herat, I think that to surrender without a struggle, either to Russia or Persia, Herat and all the neighbouring towns and territory of Northern Afghanistan, would be a very serious blow to our prestige: Secondly, because it seems to me that we have now a golden opportunity of permanently settling the struggle between Russia and ourselves for supremacy over those important regions between the Indus and the Oxus, on a much more satisfactory and advantageous basis. Nevertheless, I recognise in the Hindu Kush, (if the passes are properly commanded), an infinitely better frontier than our present one, a frontier indeed, which, from a purely military point of view, would leave little to be desired. *Faute de mieux*, therefore, I should regard such an arrangement with Russia as at least the result of a rational policy, with the execution of which I could conscientiously co-operate.

'The settlement, however, of the relative positions of the Russian and British Empires in Central Asia by direct arrangement with Afghanistan, independently of negotiations with the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh, seems to me, I confess, a decidedly preferable policy, and one from which results more consistent with the dignity of England and more advantageous to the interests of India may be reasonably expected. If this latter course be adopted, it will be necessary to guarantee the integrity of Afghan territory, as now recognised by us, up to the left bank of the Oxus. For we can no more expect the Ameer to accept willingly

an arrangement detrimental to his interests, than we can expect Russia to accept one detrimental to hers ; and to ask the Ameer to surrender his northern provinces to Russian domination, merely for our own convenience, would be a cynical absurdity ; especially when such an arrangement would, of necessity, involve the simultaneous establishment of British domination over his southern provinces. An unequivocal pledge to defend his dominions against *unprovoked* aggression on the part of any other power is the very least we can give the Ameer as the price of his alliance. I am not unconscious of, or indifferent to, the inconvenience of any liability for the defence of a position so distant from our own frontier, and so comparatively close to the Russian and Persian borders as Herat. But this inconvenience would be reduced to a minimum if our influence were firmly established in Afghanistan, and its government friendly to our own ; whilst the inconvenience we should probably experience from the possession of Herat by Russia or Persia would, I apprehend, be much greater. It seems to me a case of "nothing risk, nothing have."

'Either of the two courses above discussed (that is to say, (1) the immediate extension of our military frontier up to the line of the Hindu Kush and the Helmund, in virtue of amicable arrangements with Russia ; or (2) the extension of our political influence and contingent liabilities up to the left bank of the Oxus, in virtue of amicable arrangements with Afghanistan) will ensure to us a great amelioration of our present unsatisfactory, undignified, and dangerous position. But so far as I can see, no *third* course is possible ; at least no third course can lead to any permanent or adequate settlement of a state of things, which we cannot leave unsettled with due regard to our duty on behalf of Her Majesty's Indian Empire.

'But what I am now specially anxious to point out is,—that each of these two courses (whichever of the two be adopted) equally involves *action* in the present, and increased *liability* for the future. Our choice lies—not between action or no action, liability or no liability; but only between different modes of action, and different kinds of liability. If you agree with Russia to the mutual adoption of the Hindu Kush and the Helmund as the permanent boundary between her sphere of activity and ours, *then we must immediately*, on the signature of any such agreement, take actual and visible possession of all the intervening country between that line and our present frontier; we must at once secure command of the outer debouches of the mountains, fortify Bamian, and place permanent military stations at certain points to hold the line. A mere paper agreement which left Russia free to move up to the Hindu Kush while we remained stationary within our present lines would be an inexcusable renewal, in the most aggravated form, of the vicious principle of neutral zones. An arrangement so futile cannot be contemplated, and need not be discussed. But it must be remembered that the arrangement here contemplated will be the result of an understanding with Russia, not of an understanding with Afghanistan. It will of course be resented by the Ameer, and cannot be carried into effect without force. In short, what it involves is the immediate partition of Afghanistan by England and Russia. On the other hand, if we agree with the Ameer to exclude Russian influence from Afghanistan, and defend the Afghan territory against Russian aggression, *then* we must at once station a resident British Officer, with a small escort, for the protection of our own interests at Herat, and for the protection of the Ameer's interests at Balk. Otherwise, the Ameer may be exposed by

our presence at Herat to intrigues or raids on Balk, on the part of Abdul Rahman supported by Russia. Thus, in either case, we must act; and our action will increase our future liabilities. But the arrangement I would advocate, and which I hope to see effected, with Afghanistan (and without reference to Russia) will not only be the most efficacious as regards our present *prestige* and permanent interests, but also the most pacific, the least violent, and on the whole the most justifiable.

'Russia having distinctly placed on official record her recognition of Afghanistan as a State entirely beyond the sphere of her legitimate influence, and properly within the sphere of ours, and having now, by an acknowledged and indisputable trespass, constrained us to enforce our influence over Afghanistan, and exclude hers, more effectually than heretofore, cannot possibly have any legitimate ground of complaint or remonstrance against this arrangement. It is true that at present she is quite entitled to say, as doubtless she will say, "When, in deference to your representations, we renounced all claim to the exertion of Russian influence in Afghanistan, or to any interference in Afghan politics, we relied on the assurance that in that state you (the British Government) possessed a more legitimate influence of your own which you were resolved to enforce and maintain in the common interests of civilisation and good neighbourhood. But events have proved either that you have no such influence in Afghanistan, or that you cannot enforce it."

'Such a statement, however, though perfectly just, would only add force to the reasons why Russia is precluded from objecting to an arrangement which *will* enforce our influence, and give practical form to our responsibilities, in Afghanistan. And one thing is certain. The relative

strength and position of the two Empires in Central Asia is such, that if this arrangement be established, proclaimed, and maintained with a spark of spirit on our part, Russia will be absolutely powerless to upset it. The *Moscow Gazette*, I notice, has predicted that Russia will, in the final result, owe more to Lord Beaconsfield than to any other English statesman for the furtherance and establishment of her Central Asian power. Yes, if Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet were so short of sight or memory as to suppose that the Central Asian question can be settled anywhere but in Central Asia itself! I feel confident, however, that Lord Beaconsfield's decision and action on the case we have now to deal with will conspicuously refute that impudent prediction, and worthily complete the list of his labours and achievements in defence of the British Empire from the long accumulating perils bequeathed to it by the insane policy of his predecessors. I know it is still the fashion to sneer at a "spirited foreign policy." But I esteem it a singularly fortunate circumstance for India,—and so far as I am personally connected with the Government of India,—a very fortunate circumstance for myself,—that the present crisis in our relations with Afghanistan should have occurred at a time when Lord Beaconsfield is still at the head of affairs, his Cabinet consolidated—his Government in command of a large majority, his insight, patriotism, ingenuity, and energy, gratefully recognised by the common-sense of the whole country, and the most high-spirited and straightforward of his chief colleagues at the India Office. For this is the best guarantee that the opportunity now offered us will not be lost or misused,—for the timely and sound settlement of a question infinitely more important to India than any of those which have been settled at the Berlin Congress. The keynote of the right Central Asian policy has been struck in the Anglo-Turkish Convention

and Lord Salisbury's explanatory despatch. *Mutatis mutandis* as regards the localities and governments concerned, the terms of that despatch might be applied *totidem verbis* to our present relations with Afghanistan and the interests and responsibilities therein involved.

'Since I began this letter I have received your two of the 22nd and 23rd ult., for which I beg to thank you. I think there is nothing in them which presses for reply; and as I am just starting for Solon, in the hope that change of air, for a couple of days, will enable me to shake off the effects of a recent bilious attack, I will not now prolong this already tedious letter from

'Yours, dear Lord Cranbrook,

'Very sincerely,

'LYTTON.

'*August 17, 1878.*'

Beaconsfield to Cranbrook, September 13.

'Lord Lytton grapples with his subject, and grasps it like a man. I always thought very highly of his abilities, but this specimen of them elevates my estimate. With his general policy I agree in great measure, but the all important question which disturbs me immediately arises, Is he acquainted with the negotiations now going on with Russia?'

Lord Beaconsfield writes again on the 17th:

Beaconsfield to Cranbrook.

'I have not yet seen the answer to Livadia, but from the telegram of its contents forwarded by Mr. Plunket it is unsatisfactory. I am convinced that the country requires that we shall act with decision and firmness on this Afghan question. So far as I can judge, the feeling is strong, and

rising in the country. So long as they thought there was "peace with honour" the conduct of the Government was popular, but if they find that there is no peace they will soon be apt to conclude that there is also no honour.

'With Lytton's general policy I entirely agree. I have always been opposed to and deplored masterly inactivity. As to his instructions to our envoy, I should leave them to your sound criticism, and good sense and experience in public affairs, but I think that there is no doubt that there should be no delay in the Mission. I hope you will find our gracious mistress well. Affairs are difficult and anxious, but we must not lose heart. I am convinced that firmness alone can carry us through, but it will.'

The visit to Braemore concluded in storm, which typified the troubled complications which made him long to bring his holiday to an end and travel south to be within reach of his office.

D. September 16.—'With some short bright intervals the storm and rain has lasted till now, and the spate must be tremendous. I have seldom seen anything finer than the tumult of waters in the deep ravine yesterday, and the Linn was glorious. My last day has arrived, thank God, with no contretemps. I have experienced a hearty welcome, and much hospitality, and feel all the better for my stay.'

He slept at Inverness, having travelled through continued storm:

'Stony beds were roaring torrents, and many a cataract covered bare rocks; the crests of real waves were blown into dust by the hurricane, and it was curious to see what looked like white smoke on the hills—the spray from some hidden fall.'

He reached Balmoral on September 18, having walked all the way from Ballater, and the following extracts describe his stay at the Castle:

D. September 19.—'I dined with the Queen last night, Princess Beatrice, Prince Leopold, the Duchess of Roxburghe, Marchioness of Ely—Miss Phipps—Ponsonby. Her Majesty was as usual gracious. . . . I do not wonder that she is uneasy at the troubles arising on all sides in and about Turkey, and she suspects Russian intrigue. She seemed to think the Chalet Cecil not a suitable place for a Foreign Minister just now. The Queen was not very well up in Afghan affairs, and said that Lord Lytton's letters were so long that she hesitated before beginning to read them.'

D. September 20.—'Beaconsfield and Salisbury have each sent me their views. The former would be ready to go farther than the latter, whose long letter, however, deserves to be well weighed. Its defect is that he sees all the difficulties into which promises to the Ameer may bring us, but he does not point out how concessions are to be obtained from him without them. If we give nothing, we cannot expect to get anything; and no doubt our opponent has held out expectations which will make our object more unobtainable than it was at Peshawar, but of course I should be content to acquire at present *his* objects, if it can be done without sacrifice on our part.'

D. September 21.—'My deer drive with the Prince of Wales was eminently unsatisfactory, but the day was fine though cold. Neither he nor I had a shot, and Col. Clarke only shot a pricket. When I came in I found pouches, and letters, and telegrams, and was beset by additional boxes pouring in till dinner-time, and fortunately I dined again with the Queen, as otherwise I must have

gone down to Abergeldie. Lords Halifax and Grey wrote to me about Afghanistan in favour of inactivity. They seem to me wrong, though much is to be said. Beaconsfield telegraphs approval of what I wrote.'

D. Sunday evening, September 22.—'To-day much to think of, as papers poured in on me. At the kirk to-day not much edified by Dr. Boyd, the "Country Parson," whose "Recreations" have had their run. A telegram from Lytton came last thing that the Mission had been refused. What next! That must be much thought of.'

D. September 24.—'Dined with the Queen and met Prince William of Prussia' (the Kaiser), 'a pleasant, cheerful young man.'

D. September 30.—'I dined with the Queen, who was rather *distraite* at dinner. A short talk after, as usual. She told me Beaconsfield regretted that his health would not permit of his coming to assist her. She was glad I had been here. She then asked if he had complained of his health to me, as he had more than hinted to her that he looked forward with dread to leading in Parliament. I cheered her as well as I could—said it was probably momentary hippishness, as he had written in a different spirit to me, but at the same time I cannot but look upon his warning as predictive of coming events. He *may* feel less equal to the burden and desire to withdraw. My stay here has been singularly quiet, more so than usual.'

He reached home on October 1, the sixty-fourth anniversary of his birth. Lord Beaconsfield wanted him to come down to Hughenden at once, but it was impossible, as he had arranged interviews at the India Office 'involving other people.' 'I had plenty of work seeing Sir Henry Norman, the Duke of Cambridge, Stanley, Burne, Mallet, and much ordinary business.'

There was much dissatisfaction expressed by Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Salisbury, Lord Cairns, Sir Stafford Northcote, and others at the precipitate action of Lord Lytton in allowing the Mission to start before the answer to the remonstrances addressed to Russia by the Foreign Office had been received. My father made every allowance for the difficulties of the man on the spot, but he had himself written to Lord Lytton on September 22 in somewhat similar strain:

'Your telegram announcing the departure of the Mission has rather taken me by surprise, as, at the desire of the Prime Minister and Lord Salisbury, I sent the message of the 13th "to await orders."'

The same feeling was shown at the first Cabinet, held on the 5th.

D. October 6.—'I had not much time to myself, as the Indian mail was in, and I could barely hurry through letters before the Cabinet. They were naturally annoyed at Lytton's action before the Russian answer. . . . I hope the Ameer by his own advance will show plainly his intentions. I see no way of escape from action, and if so it should be vigorous and effective.'

Lord Lytton's defence of his action is to be found in the seventh chapter of Lady Betty Balfour's book. To express an opinion does not lie within my province, but my father has left the following record:

D. December 18.—'Much of the distrust of Lytton is unreasonable; he has once acted quicker than we ordered, but has since done all our behests.'

A visit was paid to Lord Beaconsfield at Hughenden on October 13, where Lord Odo Russell, our Ambassador

at Berlin, was also a guest, and the Indian difficulties were discussed.

D. October 13.—'We found the Chief very well and the evening passed pleasantly. Reminiscences and curiosities of the Berlin Congress kept arising, and amusing not only those who had been there, but me who was a listener. Beaconsfield strikes me as somewhat feeble in movement, but otherwise very well. He is disturbed about India because Russia is taking advantage of our embarrassment in Europe, and, as Corry says, it is a "black moment."'

At the end of the month he and Lord Cairns were the guests of Lord Abergavenny at Eridge, and visited one who had played a great figure in history, the 'great Elchi,' Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

D. October 31.—'Cairns and I drove to see Lord Stratford within 5 days of 92—looking well, speaking strongly in voice and substance, and showing no signs of physical or intellectual weakness. He had not much good to say of Russia, and hoped Europe would combine to enforce the Berlin treaty. On Afghanistan he spoke with no great admiration of Lawrence and his opinions. Would like to appear once more in the House of Lords, and once at Grillion's. I do not expect that those wishes will be realised, as he generally keeps to one room and of course must be very careful. He has played a great part, and probably I have seen him for the last time, but if I come here I should certainly wait on him again. He was busy writing for the *Quarterly*.'

The Ministry in November found their hands full of a number of very difficult and anxious questions.

D. November 8.—'The Cabinet was on South Africa,

and not ready to accede to Bartle Frere's views, but I doubt whether events will not be too strong for us. It is truly unfortunate to have these troubles all at once.'

D. November 10.—'Beaconsfield made a good European speech, but he will hear more of "rectifying the North-West frontier of India," and I could not understand his Indian policy at all. I wish I had seen him, and put words into his mouth, for I am afraid he had no very definite conception of his own meaning.'

D. November 20.—'The Cabinet adopted my despatch, which will, I presume, appear to-morrow, and send more troops, alas! for Natal. Zulu hovers blackly over the Colony. I am afraid the Transvaal is "damnosa hereditas."'

D. November 23.—'The advance has begun, and the papers report the capture of Ali Musjid, but I have no official news. Our Cabinet determined, as they had practically done before, on summoning Parliament for Dec. 5. Lytton's proclamation had not increased the favour of my colleagues to him. It is unfortunate, he has really in the main done what he was ordered by Salisbury, but his unfortunate fluency creates alarm. South Africa demands and is to have troops. Our hands are full, and coming debates will be troublesome.'

D. December 6.—'We were gladdened by the news of a complete victory of Roberts at Peiwar Kotal, which relieved many of anxiety. The Queen telegraphed to me her congratulations in the evening.'

A vote of want of confidence was moved in both Houses.

D. December 10.—'I opened the debate in the Lords, and though in the retrospect I feel how much I left out that would have made me more forcible, yet I carried the House

in the main with me, and was cheered in quite an unusual way on sitting down—an hour and three-quarters did not seem long for the work I had to do, and I was glad to find from the warm and hearty congratulations on all sides that I had not tired my audience. From the Prince of Wales down, kind and flattering words flowed abundantly. Indeed, never have I received more compliments. I only hope that the effect of a plain statement may be good in the country.'

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CLOSE OF THE BEACONSFIELD GOVERNMENT (1879)

D. January 1, 1879.—'The year opens gloomily on account of the distress, and war in the East, hardly over in Europe, casts a shadow. In our own home all is peace and comfort. We have had a marvellous gathering, and all have been happy and united. What blessings!'

Such are the opening words with which Lord Cranbrook notes in his Diary the opening of the year destined to be the last of Lord Beaconsfield's rule. At home all was well, but in India, as in South Africa, the prospect was black, and disaster and calamity were soon to come. The events in South Africa, the destruction of our forces at Isandhlwana, and the ultimate victory of Lord Chelmsford, when Cetewayo was defeated and crushed at Ulundi, need not be recorded at any length. In 1895, when summarising his Diary of 1878–9, Lord Cranbrook wrote down his considered views on Sir Bartle Frere's policy and the conduct of the Government at the time. They will need but little supplementing from the original document.

S. 1895.—'I am reading Bartle Frere's Life, and came across in my diary' (see *supra*, November 8, 1878) 'a note of the Cabinet view of his schemes and of my own anticipations. I always felt with him as a really far-sighted statesman; and his African policy, fully adopted, would have saved bloodshed, pacified vast regions, and prevented a scramble.

1879 began with many attacks on the Government, but they did not alarm us; a great party at Hatfield, where Schouvaloff was most entertaining, just preceded the disaster of Isandhlwana, which was a grievous shock to English hearts; and what troubles, ending in humiliation, followed! Frere's policy was called in question, but much was imputed to him which had not real foundation. He may have made mistakes, but ours, I fear, was in not making allowance for South African conditions, of which we were ill-informed. He knew them—he had to accept foregone conclusions, and deal with past acts which he could not overthrow. Cetewayo was not his own master, but the servant of an armed body educated by him to dip its spears in blood. It might have been directed on to the Boers, but then? I had to a certain extent to defend our action in South Africa, and certainly did not hurt the feelings of Frere or of his family, who have always expressed gratitude. I am confirmed by the Life in the opinion which I always had of him, and in the misgivings which at the time I had of our Ministerial action with regard to him: I think I ought to have checked it more, but we did not know all; and the trouble with Russia and Afghanistan affected our African policy.'

On January 20 Joseph Ridgway, the father of the present Lady Cranbrook, passed away in his sleep after a long illness. He had been a school-fellow of my father at Shrewsbury, and afterwards they had been neighbours in Kent. They met for the last time on January 14, when they 'bade each other farewell, and he sent a kindly message to Jane, expressing his confidence in Stewart.' 'A peaceful end!' writes my father, 'which no one could wish otherwise, least of all himself.'

A very brief summary of the events which took place

in Afghanistan is given here, in order to render the extracts from the Diary intelligible. The military operations of General Roberts and General Stewart had been perfectly successful, and the end of the year 1877 saw the flight of Shere Ali into Turkestan; on Christmas Eve came the release of his son Yakoob, and the assumption by the latter of the reins of government. The defeated Ameer was no longer useful to Russia, and he received no support from the Czar, but was advised by General Kauffmann to return to his own country and make his peace with the English. The letter which he forwarded to the Viceroy announcing that on the advice of his Sirdars he was proceeding to St. Petersburg to lay his case before 'Congress' was withheld from immediate publication by the advice of Lord Salisbury, whose prudent communication runs as follows:

'*January 3, 1879.*

'I should prefer the publication being postponed if possible. The nature of my apprehension is this. Pride and national feeling are struggling hard in the breast of the Emperor, and his advisers, with the sore necessity which compels them to be reasonable. If it is openly published on the Ameer's authority that he had thrown himself into the arms of Russia, appealed to them for protection, and practically tendered to them his submission, it may give a powerful argument to those who wish to persuade the Czar that patriotism requires him to throw prudential considerations to the winds, or that his honour requires him to support a prince who has lost his all by trusting him.'

The unfortunate Shere Ali died at Mazar i Sharif on February 21. Lord Lytton ('Lord Lytton's Indian Administration,' p. 309) always contended that for all practical purposes he had become the friend and ally of Russia at least three years before he (Lytton) became Governor-

General. But his death, while it removed an open enemy, left no one in power with whom it was really safe to negotiate. Yakoob, as the sequel proved, had neither the will nor the authority to control his savage troops. He repaired to the British camp at Gandamak, and negotiated a treaty with Major Cavagnari acting on behalf of the British Government, by which all the Afghan territory in our possession, with the exception of Kurum, Pishin, and Si-bi, was restored. The Cabinet, notwithstanding the distrust of the Opposition, were individually and collectively averse from more annexation than was absolutely unavoidable. But the most important concession of Yakoob was his consent to receive a British mission at Cabul. The brave Cavagnari entered that capital on July 23, and was received with cordiality by the new Ameer. He never, either in his letters or verbally, expressed any apprehension of danger, but on September 3 the Residency was attacked, and its gallant defenders perished to a man. Cavagnari and the equally heroic young Hamilton met a soldier's death, sword in hand. Whether this treacherous attack was actually instigated by Yakoob or not, it was found by the Commission of inquiry 'that he was culpably indifferent to the fate of the envoy and his companions, and totally disregarded the solemn obligations he had undertaken to protect the British embassy.' I need not chronicle the victorious campaign of General Roberts and General Stewart, ending in the occupation of Cabul, the flight and abdication of Yakoob, and the accession of Abdur Rahman. It will be well understood that the course of events caused Lord Cranbrook deep anxiety, and gave him immense labour. His comment on the Afghan question in 1895 was as follows:

S.—'Looking back I do not see how our action could have been honourably avoided. The terrible events at Cabul recalled me to London. Cavagnari was confident in going and staying; and we had every reason to hope that

he had good grounds for trust. He was a very able and experienced man; and young Hamilton was a gallant fellow, and much loved. On looking back with sorrow, I do not see that, on the knowledge we had, we could have done otherwise. At Balmoral these events were a sad topic. Roberts's splendid work in Afghanistan restored our position there.'

With this short preface I may return to the Diary.

D. January 29.—'I was at Osborne soon after 3 P.M. The Queen gave me a long interview when she came in from her drive. She spoke much of her loss (by the death of the Princess Alice) and her pleasure in her grandchildren, saying she was very proud of them, and then suddenly said "You must see them, I will go and fetch them." She returned with the five, and very bright charming creatures they were, the two eldest girls especially so, the second promising to be pretty. They bore no trace of the crisis they had passed through.'

D. February 4.—'I came up by the express. Our Cabinet settled Lytton's proclamation much as I desired, and some other matters. The Chief has done well in his appointments—Lightfoot and Stubbs (to the bishoprics of Durham and Oxford) for whom I wrote at once, and at the Literary Society praises were in all mouths.'

In February he visited Hatfield.

D. Hatfield, February 8.—'There is a large party here which, with Jane, Emy, and Evelyn, I joined last night. Beaconsfield, Schouvaloff, W. H. Smith, Count Piper, Montebello, Ivor Guest's, and Henry Graham, and I shall not forget Schouvaloff's singing and excitement up to nearly one o'clock this morning.'

D. February 9. — 'The hounds met on the lawn yesterday, and I mounted in very unhuntsmanlike attire, not made more comfortable by a fidgetty high-stepping horse. The day was however delightful, and my nearly two hours' ride did me good. No fox was found while I was out. Schouvaloff outdid himself at dinner on the subject of dry champagne, Bismarck's beer, the Greek representative, &c. He was wonderfully amusing, as he had been on Derby's elder wine on Friday.'

D. February 11.—'The papers bring the news of a sad disaster in Zululand. Every British officer killed, and vast stores captured. The 24th Regiment appears to be annihilated, and its colours captured. Alas! Alas!'

D. February 12.—'After my Council yesterday we had a Cabinet, and sanctioned all that Stanley proposed in the way of reinforcements. I am afraid that there was neglect and over-confidence, but we shall see. The Court of Enquiry will probably bring to light the causes.'

D. February 13.—'Beaconsfield gave us a stately dinner last evening, and afterwards Evelyn and I walked through the Admiralty, which was crowded. Smith did good service by his honest homely speech of the night before. Truthfulness and simplicity are apparent in his vindication of Ministerial acts.'

D. February 21.—'I wish the Commons could get on with the mass of work they have, but progress seems impossible. We dined with the Selbornes. Goschen spoke despondingly of the conditions of the House, as Lord E. Fitzmaurice had done this morning. Fifty men, he said, seemed determined that no business should be done. Better news from South Africa, but nothing to remove all apprehension of raids on the Colony—still, what has come is cheering.'

D. March 2.—'At the Cabinet a telegram came containing a letter from Yakoob, announcing "out of friendship" his father's death on the 21st of February—an event which may be of great importance. May it bring peace!'

The next extract describes Prince Arthur's wedding.

D. March 14.—'Light snowflakes were floating in the air when I got up this morning, a fit sequel to the great cold of yesterday. It was however a brilliant wedding day and was appreciated by the crowd who flocked to the sight. All was admirably managed—the scene in the chapel was beautiful—the processions stately and dignified, and the whole ceremonial well sustained from beginning to end, the Queen bore herself like a Queen and looked happy and cheerful. The Princess of Wales with her charming little flock attractive as usual. Prince Arthur and his bride each did their part becomingly, as well at the Altar as afterwards in coming round the guests when we were assembled before lunch. We shall retain a vivid impression of what we saw. May the marriage be a happy one!'

D. March 18.—'I was able to take to the Levée the news that Yakoob was at least not inaccessible, though at first he says "that he has not strength or capacity to give up territory which he hopes our magnanimity may forego!" Our House sat late—for it—and while there Beaconsfield sent me a message asking me to undertake the case of the Government on the Zulu motion to be made by Lansdowne on Tuesday next—not a pleasant task! but I must not shirk, though I do not like it, and do not at this moment see my line.'

D. March 26.—'Lansdowne was so calm and colourless that I had no points from his speech. I replied for nearly an hour, and, as far as appeared, steered clear of shoals. I

was said to have made some converts. There was a great audience, and Jane and Katie enjoyed the debate. The discussion ended at a quarter to 12 with a division of 156 to 61, not a bad majority!'

D. March 27.—'Our Cabinet yesterday was on the Budget principally, and I hope that Northcote sees his way to a good arrangement without new taxation. . . In the evening we went to the Salisburys' and I was seized upon at once by Lady S. and Lord Torrington to be carried off to the King of the Belgians to be complimented on my speech. His Majesty was very gracious indeed, but soon drifted into the question of elephants for Africa. I got many compliments, and am glad that at least I did not get into any difficulty through a speech which was necessarily very balanced.'

D. April 9.—'I was off early for the Cabinet where all but Richmond were assembled. Certainly "the world is out of joint"—we had Frere and South Africa, the *coup d'état* in Egypt, Ottoman Bank loan, Dufferin's report of proceedings on the mixed occupation, Aleko Pacha, &c.; Malet on the imbecility of Turkey; Musurus Pacha's report of what never happened with Beaconsfield—and could not have happened—not to mention terms of treaty with Yakoob. However we got through all, but, with a team pulling each in a different direction, the best driving of our united Cabinet may be, probably will be, unavailing.'

D. May 4.—'Yesterday I got to the Academy in time to have a fair look at the pictures, and was repaid by many good ones. Gladstone's portrait by Millais is a fine work, and makes him look his best. I must put down Kinglake's *mot* on him—"He is a truly good man in the worst sense of the words." The Academy dinner was rather long at the end, as some speakers were not heard. Sir F. Leighton

showed his fitness for the place he fills. Beaconsfield was clever, as usual, and I should think that his postponement of Homer to Shakespeare was doubtfully received by his rival.'

D. May 19.—'I was able to announce a basis of peace in Afghanistan. Thank God! and the terms, so far as set out, met with general approval. I told the Lords the fact without details. I was kept latish by the debate on short service raised by Truro. Things are serious when you work your machine with a peace establishment in war.'

D. May 24.—'Our Cabinet yesterday settled important matters for South Africa, and I hope our dictator may finish the work there. The Afghan treaty arrived while we were sitting and was approved, so that Lytton may complete his negotiations.'

D. May 27.—'We had a Cabinet yesterday at 11. which lasted until 1, and the result was announced to the Houses—viz. Wolseley going out practically as Dictator in the Transvaal, Natal, and the seat of war. Frere retains Cape Town Colony and its adjuncts, where his work is set. Still I doubt whether he and Bulwer may not resent. Chelmsford can hardly do so, as indeed the war may be left in his hands. A Levée followed, the longest I remember. Thence I ran to my office where Cavagnari telegraphed the signature of the Treaty by the Ameer, which I gladly reported to the House.'

D. May 28 (Derby Day).—'Gloomy at present, as yesterday, which I regret for the sake of the many. Our Cabinet lasted two hours during the former part of which Sir Garnet Wolseley was present. His ideas do not differ much from Frere's as to what should follow the War. We completed his instructions, and a despatch to Sir Bartle. Her Majesty, I fancy, does not like our new step; and no

doubt it has its disadvantages, but the country takes it very favourably.'

On June 5 he addressed a great meeting in Yorkshire, where he always felt peculiarly at home, and experienced the delight of addressing a West Riding audience.

D. Trinity Sunday, June 8, Hemsted.—'Here I am once more after my trip to Yorkshire, where I met with the heartiest of receptions, such as Yorkshiremen give. Thursday, when I took my journey to Sheffield, was a real summer's day. We dined early, and at 7.30 were in the great room holding some 3700 people which was crammed, No one spoke long but myself, and I wish for some reasons, especially on finance, that I had spoken longer, for I had a good case. However, all were satisfied, and on the whole the press has not been unfavourable to the substance and effect of what I said. The audience looked most respectable and was quick and intelligent in taking up points. On Friday a very large number of Conservative gentlemen came to breakfast, and I spent some two hours in making acquaintance and talking—quite a Levée! The day was miserable, and Sheffield was hidden in its own smoke with an exceptional and heavy rain. However, we saw at Cammell's works the rolling of an armour-plate of 30 tons, and many interesting things of a like kind. The Bessemer process was really a beautiful sight.'

He notes with satisfaction Lord Beaconsfield's appreciative letter which I append, as the end is characteristic.

'HUGHENDEN, *Trinity Sunday, 1879.*

'MY DEAR CRANBROOK

'You just did what we wanted. As Willie Dyke said, "A great speech in the North"!

'Nothing could be better, and, what is even of higher consequence, nothing could be more successful.

'It has not been a satisfactory season—a wet Whitsun—I want Sun, like the land. But what is some compensation is the prodigality of the foliage, I never knew my beeches so heavy with leaf.

'Yours,
'B.'

D. June 12.—'Yesterday I dined with John Manners, and a large odd-looking party of telegraphists, at Willis's rooms—a grand banquet. My place was next to General Luders, and I dosed him with bad French but improved as I warmed to the work; then looked in in uniform at Münster's great party which was celebrating the Emperor's Golden Wedding. I saw Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, but was not near him, a fine-looking young man.'

D. June 18.—'Yesterday I spent the day in going to and from Wellington College, listening to the speeches there, then walking about. The place is admirable for its purpose, and with its pines and rhododendrons beautiful. The bloom on the broom down the line was glorious for miles. We entertained the Crown Prince of Sweden at dinner.'

D. June 20.—'The miserable Zulu War has had an illustrious victim—the Prince Imperial—assegaied in a mealie field on a reconnaissance, not even fighting! It may affect the fate of France, and of Europe. Alas for his mother! Was it not a pity to employ him on such a service?'

D. June 22.—'Our Cabinet had not a great deal of work in the evening. I took Emy and Evelyn to the Duke of Northumberland. H.R.H. (the Duke of Cambridge) was there. He expressed himself strongly about the Prince

Imperial, and the neglect of his escort in leaving him. He had seen the Empress, who was calm—she said that she was sure that it was his own eagerness that had led to the disaster, that he had begged her, when she told him that she prayed for his safety, that she would pray that he might always be in the front. The telegram about his baptism of fire at the beginning of the Franco-German war, which had been ridiculed, had always dwelt on his mind, and he had resolved to be in the van when he had the opportunity.'

There is a further allusion to this subject in the account of a visit to Osborne which took place on July 26. I append the entry rather out of its order to conclude the subject. Her Majesty was deeply concerned at the disaster to a guest of England fighting in the English ranks.

D. July 28.—'After the Cabinet on Saturday, which was adjourned to Tuesday on Finance—a most difficult question—I went off to Osborne. The day was beautiful, and the journey easy. I was in my quarters before six. I sat next to the Queen at dinner, as there were no great guests, and had much talk on all sorts of subjects then and for above half an hour after. She was very gracious. Her mind was much on Lieutenant Carey's court-martial. She sent me the papers to read, and I must say the proceedings were slovenly and the evidence vague. There was a scurry: and all seems to depend upon whether Carey should have seen the Prince on and away, or whether, seeing him foot to stirrup, he was justified in starting. I cannot think the conviction just, however we shall discuss it. Yesterday I was again with Her Majesty over an hour talking on that and other subjects. She showed me the Prince's letter to the Duke of Cambridge on the refusal to let him go, and the Empress's since his death. Both were touching in their

way. He was burning for an active life. She recognises God's hand in all, and wishes none to suffer for what has happened. Curiously she had warned him against going out with volunteers. I had a tedious journey up, the pleasantest part on the water, where the breeze was fresh and enlivening.'

D. June 26.—'Much rain yesterday. A Cabinet yesterday in Beaconsfield's room, as he was laid up with gout. Egypt. A critical matter! Thence to the Wellington College meeting at Marlborough House. Airey and the Bishop of Truro elected Governors. A Levée—At the India Office—A ride with Katie—such was my busy day.'

D. June 27.—'The Sultan deposed the Khedive yesterday. May good come of it!'

It was a year of terribly bad weather. On June 30 he writes: 'Half the year gone, and summer not genuinely come.' On July 1: 'A terribly wet night with a low thermometer. Alas for the Agricultural Show and for agriculture generally.' On July 3: 'Still the same dismal record of rain and storm. Shows and cricket matches (Oxford and Cambridge) sadly interrupted. I am afraid the Royal Agricultural show will have enormous expenses thrown upon it, as payers cannot go to see the show in such mud.' July 4: 'Yesterday was a day of almost continuous rain and darkness, at one time such as to demand lights in many places. It is really lamentable.' The same sort of entries follow through the greater part of the summer and autumn. The bad harvest did not assist the Government!

D. July 5.—'I attended Lord Lawrence's funeral (at Westminster Abbey), where there was a very representative gathering, and a solemn ceremony. The music fine. Heard of Lady Waldegrave's sudden death from Lord Granville.'

D. July 7.—'The House of Commons sat on Saturday until midnight, and, I hear, made no progress, but Stanley or Northcote seem to have raised a mutiny among our friends by holding out hope of giving up points so long contested. We shall hear more at the Cabinet at 11 to-day, and a meeting of the party in the Commons is to follow at 2. It is clearly a very critical affair, and the attempts to compromise are hopeless. Our strength must be used at any cost of time or trouble, and our men will rally again.'

D. July 8.—'A Cabinet at 11 prevented my riding, and it was followed by a meeting of the party at 2, so my India Office work was interfered with. The meeting was very successful. Beaconsfield put the case well, and the party who were assembled in great numbers adopted the recommendation.'

D. July 9.—'I spoke on the Irish University question in the Lords, but felt that I was weak, as I could not say, what I wished, that we should do more; and personally I see no objection to using the Irish Church fund for the purpose. It will be worse used if we leave it.'

D. July 24.—'Chelmsford's victory near Ulundi cheered us all yesterday, and there was general rejoicing that before he lost the Command-in-Chief he had, as we trust, concluded the war. I expect little more resistance. Cetewayo was there, but what became of him is not known.'

The long and arduous Session closed on August 15. The last Cabinet to settle the Queen's Speech was held on August 12, on which day the weary Commons sat till 7.15 in the morning. A curious and not very useful dignity was on the same day conferred on my father. At the request of the Chancellor he was sworn a Justice of the Peace for all the Counties of Great Britain. I never heard of his

acting for any place other than Kent and the West Riding of Yorkshire, for which counties he already held the Commission. After a fortnight at his home in Kent, much marred by the continued stormy weather, he left for Scotland on the 5th of September, intending to pay a short visit to Murthly Castle before his attendance at Balmoral. On the very evening of his arrival he received the disastrous intelligence of the rising at Cabul and the dangerous plight of Cavagnari's mission.

D. September 6, Murthly.—'My journey hither was easy enough, and I found my *coupé lit* comfortable though there were others in the carriage. I have done some harling in a drizzle amounting at times to rain in vain. No guests but Lady Morley and myself. 7.30.—My pleasure has soon been marred. Walpole telegraphs a rising at Cabul, apparently against the Ameer as well as ourselves. The Residency fired, and no hope for the Embassy! Most horrible to think of and so unexpected.'

Letter. Cranbrook to Beaconsfield.

'*Private.*

'MURTHLY CASTLE,
'MURTHLY,
'N.B.

'MY DEAR BEACONSFIELD

'I was at the India Office yesterday, and left for Scotland with the most satisfactory assurances as to the condition of things at Cabul. My surprise, therefore, was equal to my distress and sorrow at receiving a succession of telegrams conveying the disastrous news from that place. The outbreak appears to have taken all, including the Ameer, by surprise, and possibly may have originated merely in a demand for pay due to the soldiers, who endeavoured to force compliance by threatening the Residency. Resistance excited passions which extended to the populace,

among whom there was in all likelihood a latent animosity to the infidel foreigners established in their midst. Walpole no doubt will have forwarded to you the several telegrams as they have come in, and you will learn from them the measures which the Government of India are taking. An advance upon Cabul can, I fear, not be avoided, but would you think it right to call a Cabinet upon that question? I am, of course, ready to return at a moment's notice, and but that I am so shortly going on to Balmoral, should do so at once. There is a telegraph office here, the same address as the post—Murthly, N.B.—and if you will intimate your wishes I will act upon them. It is lamentable to think of our work undone, and more painful to despair of the safety of our envoy and his suite.

'Yours very sincerely,

'CRANBROOK.

'*September 6, 1879.*
'11 P.M.'

D. September 8.—'We walked to Birnam Church yesterday, a close and muggy day, mending towards afternoon, but ending in a wet night. Constant telegrams. Worst confirmed. I fully expect I must leave to-day, and see Beaconsfield.'

D. September 9, Hughenden.—'My prophetic anticipations are fulfilled. I felt it impossible not to come to headquarters, and my journey was as easy as so long a one can be. I had a *coupé lit* compartment to myself from Perth, and slept very fairly, got to bed at Grosvenor Crescent before 5 and have been really fresh for work all day, and feel so at this moment. I found plenty to occupy me at the India Office, which I left at a quarter to four, walked to the station, and was here at 6.30. The Chief is well, but feels deeply this new trial. I said, and he agreed,

that the stars in their courses are fighting against us. Well! we act for right and for the country, and must fight against them. We have had constant conversation since I arrived, as there is no one else here, and I cannot think of a point on which we differ. I have suggested nothing that he has not approved, and I agree with him on those points which have been put forward by him. I have prepared a telegram for his assent to-morrow morning in accordance with our concurrent opinion. He was low at first—cheerful at last, and I think our meeting will have done him good. Cavagnari trusted, and has been betrayed. In a letter written as he went up to Cabul he concludes: "With complete confidence as to the future." Alas!'

There are long letters to Lord Lytton on September 7, 9, and 10, but they need not be given in full. 'I hope that judgment may be done, not with passionate vindictiveness, but with the stern dignity which will be far more consistent with our position, and far more impressive upon the surrounding people.' As the correspondence goes on, it shows a growing suspicion of the Ameer's complicity in the outrage, but all the information gathered from the letter as to the views of Cavagnari, and his confidence in his safety, confirms the statement in the extract which follows:

D. September 10.—'The *Daily News* reports from a paper in India that Cavagnari had warnings—coolness with the Ameer—collision with soldiers—this is all contrary to his regular reports to the Viceroy, and through him to us. Wrote to the Queen in that sense, and sent extracts to papers.'

D. September 11.—'Found telegram from Lytton warning us against "expressions of confidence in Yakoob's fidelity, or friendly disposition, as neither are beyond question." There has always been much that was suspicious,

but his interest seems so adverse to what has happened that I still doubt his complicity.'

He remained at home in order to be in touch with the India Office until he left for his attendance at Balmoral, which he reached on the 18th. 'I had a kind letter from the Queen hoping she should see me as intended, and I have replied that I shall obey—telegrams are easily managed at Balmoral.' He found Her Majesty with her mind much occupied with the accident to the Prince Imperial, which she had felt very deeply, the position of Lord Chelmsford, with whom she greatly sympathised, and Cetewayo, whose capture had just been announced and officially confirmed.

D. September 21.—'Yesterday Her Majesty sent for me at 8 in the evening: she was full of the capture of Cetewayo and his treatment, and dwelt with much energy and emphasis on her fear that the height of ill-treatment would be inflicted on him by his being compelled to dress *à l'Anglais*. She begged me to write on his behalf, and that of his clothesless ladies, to Sir Michael Hicks Beach to save them from such degradation. It was all rather funny, but with a base of very good sense; Cetewayo in a blanket would be a far more imposing figure than in a swallow tail.'

I need not give the details of some unsuccessful stalking expeditions. The cricket match in a storm illustrates the hardihood of the Highlanders.

D. September 23.—'A real hurricane all day—bright sky —a shower or two, not heavy, did not make a satisfactory condition for the Balmoral and Braemar cricket match. The former won easily. It was almost impossible to face the gale at times, and it went through a thickish shooting jacket with a chill to the whole frame.'

His last day at Balmoral was his sixty-fifth birthday.

D. September 30.—'And so the end of my sixty-fifth year has come. How much to regret, how much to be thankful for! How gladly would I spend my birthday at home, but I shall be remembered. We have loving surroundings, and it is wonderful that such union, without one known drawback, can so steadily prevail. Thank God for it!'

D. October 2.—'I took my last round alone by the back of Craig-Gowan yesterday evening. The mountains were looking their best in the golden light, all the brighter after the rainy morning. The river was running high. The Queen was gracious as usual, both at and after dinner. She has sent me some engravings. . . .

'I wonder if this will be my last visit here! No use in speculating; but our opponents are moving every force against us, and there have been misfortunes which will be construed as misdoings naturally enough. Speeches are multiplying.'

Just before leaving Balmoral he received a letter from Lord Beaconsfield suggesting a Cabinet as soon as his attendance was over. 'It is not necessary,' it runs, 'but perhaps the country expects it.' It contains the following well-merited eulogy of Sir Garnet Wolseley:

'Everything Sir Garnet Wolseley expressed his intention of doing in his last conference with me he has completely accomplished. He said there must be one battle, that the barbarian king would be assassinated or surrender, and that his kingdom might be divided under indigenous chiefs. All that he has promised and proposed he has fulfilled. I entirely approve of everything he has done and look upon him as a first-rate man.'

The letter goes on to institute a comparison, which may as well be omitted. The Cabinet was duly held on October 6.

D. October 7.—'All the Cabinet met except Sandon, who is abroad. There was complete unanimity. I stated what I knew, and found all resolute to maintain our policy, though the arrangements must be altered. I drafted a telegram to Lytton of queries as to his intentions, which was accepted. Northcote and Cross will be speaking soon, and will state our resolution emphatically. Preston, through Hermon, asks me to a demonstration. Having refused Huddersfield, and Glasgow, I do not see how I could go there.'

He awaited news of Lord Roberts's advance with feverish anxiety.

D. October 8.—'No news of Roberts, which surprises me. The Indian mail in early, and a most important letter from Lytton, which would have afforded topics for a Cabinet. He has a scheme in his mind.'

D. October 10.—'On Wednesday evening came the news of Roberts's victory at Charasaib. I hope he may be by this time at Cabul. It was well that the criminal regiments should fight and receive punishment.'

The next entry gives a gloomy account of the result of agricultural depression which was beginning to be severely felt at Hemsted, where, so far, there has been no history of 'unearned increment.'

D. October 11.—'Old Michaelmas day—my father's birthday, which we used never to forget. The end of my tenants' year; and what a melancholy one for them!

I hoped that at least all my farms would be let, but yesterday John Weston came to say that he could not take "the Pump" as his hops had done nothing for him. It is a pity that we did not know earlier, as of course I have been precluded from getting another tenant. High Tilt will be a trouble also, so that I do not look forward to '79–'80 with pleasant agricultural prospects.'

D. October 13.—'A telegram from Roberts, received yesterday, announces the dispersion of our enemies on the night of the 8th, and his imminent entry into the Bala Hissar and city. The mutineers can hardly again meet us in regular action, for over 110 guns have been taken and those in the Bala will have been added.'

D. October 14.—' Roberts in Cabul will, I hope, begin and follow up careful investigations as to the Ameer, who is strongly suspected by him.'

D. October 19.—' Nothing new as to any actions in Afghanistan, but the Ameer wishes to retire from his throne. I should not be disposed to stay him, for he is a helpless character, if not worse.'

D. October 23.—' Yesterday began with H.R.H., who was on his way to Combe to shoot. He was in a good humour which I hardly expected, as I did not at all adopt his views on the Indian Army and some other matters. I had prepared a telegram for the consideration of the Cabinet, which was adopted unanimously. My colleagues had come from all parts of the United Kingdom, and most were going back. Northcote—from Ireland—going to Balmoral. Regular Cabinets begin November 4. I brought down Baron de Solvyns, who is wonderfully chatty, and found here a large party.'

The party was broken up the next day by sad news. A much-loved nephew, Henry Hardy, son of his

eldest brother, Sir John Hardy, succumbed to dysentery in South Africa, where he was serving on Sir Garnet Wolseley's staff. 'He was overdone while ill, in the pursuit of Cetewayo. Wolseley had a high opinion of him, and told me he would always have taken him as aide-de-camp.' 'A telegram from Sir Garnet Wolseley cast a gloom over our party last night. Poor Henry died of dysentery on the 4th at Landsman's Drift. I had heard from John in the afternoon that he was expecting a letter from him. The shock to them will be great—the first great family affliction. Baron de Solvyns, with Lady Abergavenny and her party left at 11.'

D. November 5.—'I came up yesterday morning, had my Council, then an interview and lunch with Beaconsfield. He and Salisbury are keen for some arrangement with Persia, but we can hardly give what we have not got and may impair our means of settling Afghanistan. We discussed the matter partially at the Cabinet, where questions of dissolution, foreign policy &c., were also before us. Turkey appears to be ruining itself, and losing its last chance. Fright may bring about some change, though we have really not actually threatened. At the India Office I had work and interviews. Col. Baker from Turkey, of the Government of which he gave a melancholy account, while he spoke highly of the population, as quiet, much enduring, and capable.'

D. December 1.—'The papers bring tidings of Roebuck's death at 78; a long life for so frail a being. He had some noble qualities, but an insatiable vanity much affected the usefulness of his career.'

About this time Gladstone was making his pilgrimage in Midlothian. Lord Beaconsfield's letter is worth quoting verbatim.

'HUGHENDEN MANOR, *December 10, 1879.*

'It is certainly a relief that this drenching rhetoric has at length ceased—but I have never read a word of it.

'"Satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum."

'Yours,

'B.'

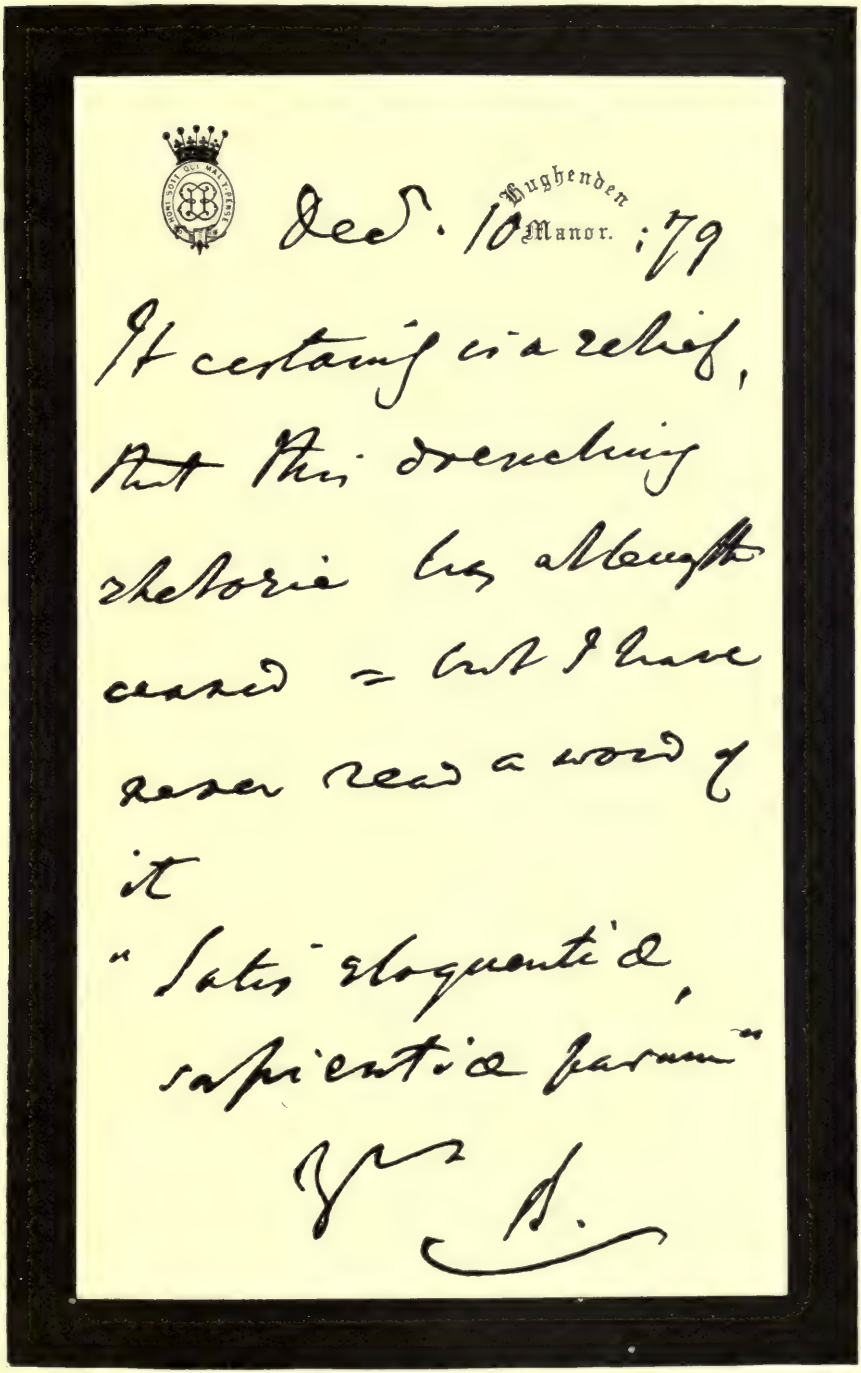
Throughout December there was some anxiety about the position of Lord Roberts and his troops, but there was no permanent check to his brilliant career of victory. The end of the year brought the good news of his success.

D. December 28.—'The absence of news from Roberts and Gough was beginning to excite some uneasiness, but this morning the welcome telegram has come that Roberts alone has dispersed and defeated the enemy around Cabul on the 23rd. God be thanked! I hope more peaceable times are at hand.'

D. December 29.—'A fine morning after the storm. Four telegrams yesterday must have tried the messenger from Benenden, for the wind was very high, and the mud inconceivable. They were very satisfactory, and the full ones by post seem to indicate a complete success by Roberts. Telegrams to-day not much additional. Loss of officers still disproportionate. A terrible accident on the Tay Bridge caused apparently by the gale of yesterday. No details yet—but from 150 to 200 supposed to have perished. Alas!'

D. December 31.—'An indoor day, rain and wind such as it is unadvisable to face. So ends the year—a calamitous one for the public. Many private sorrows. For our own personal circle marked with many blessings.'

A visit to Osborne on January 5 need not be recorded at any length. Her Majesty was 'rather husky, but otherwise very well, and as interested as usual in all that is



FAC-SIMILE LETTER FROM LORD BEACONSFIELD ON MR. GLADSTONE'S MIDLOTHIAN CAMPAIGN.

going on—Turkey—France—Afghanistan. She is much satisfied with Roberts; she gave me a large bon-bon box for my grandchildren.'

D. January 23, 1880.—'On arriving at the India Office yesterday a note from Beaconsfield summoned me to see him, and I had some talk on Afghan affairs, my views on which he cordially adopted, and I drafted a passage for the Speech for his consideration afterwards.'

D. January 24.—'I was glad to have a note from the Chief approving my draft, and saying "rem acu tetigisti."'

D. January 30.—'The weather, or some evil influence, is on the Cabinet. Salisbury—John Manners—now Northcote—laid up. Cairns not very hearty, Beaconsfield better, but not well. He wrote me an amusing summary of our condition. Sandon's absence at Liverpool adds to our deficiency.'

Lord Beaconsfield's letter is written in pencil.

'DOWNING STREET, *January 29, 1880.*

'I have not received the Viceroy's telegram of to-day—but my mind is very clear on what must be its main points.

'Any reference to possible restoration of Yakoob unwise—and I think unnecessary. He abdicated at his own suggestion and chose his own place of retreat. The Lord Chancellor, frightened by his first attack of asthma (though I thought he had been subject to it), fled to Lindisfarne where the fog is darker than here. Lord Salisbury must not quit his room for at least another week. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is in bed with influenza!

'Where John Manners's broken bones are I know not—though I believe he has left Belvoir: so if we had a Cabinet to-day, what with Sandon canvassing at L.—we should have

only mustered half, for I doubt if I could myself have answered your call.

'B.'

Parliament met on February 5.

D. February 6.—'I went to the House to hear the Speech. . . . Granville much after the common form, but with some humorous passages. Beaconsfield was physically feeble and evidently felt his gout. Argyll followed, and was so unjust in his language about Lytton and Roberts that I spoke pretty strongly in answer, and I think somewhat abashed him.'

D. February 9.—'The general bias is now to an early election, and if it is pushed for by our opponents they will be gratified I expect soon. When the canvass has really begun the shorter it is the better. I have always doubted whether we could keep things going this session.'

D. February 19.—'Yesterday at the Cabinet heard of the new and even more horrible attempt on the life of the Czar at the risk of sacrificing many other lives. What a terrible position he occupies! Northcote seems to apprehend a state of things which will in all probability bring this Parliament to a close. I fancy almost all wish for it.'

D. February 28.—'I dined with Lord Granville, where we had a very agreeable snug party. Mr. Burt was my neighbour and was very simple and nice. Brassey, Thring, Siemens, Fowler, Lansdowne, Cadogan, F. Cavendish, Childers. The last made ample apology for his attack upon me last year which he had always regretted, and thanked me for shaking hands with him. My indignation went off with the expression of it long ago, and I have no malice and indeed forget the exact terms of his injurious remarks. I am glad to have such a matter so well settled.'

The word 'Dissolution' is interpolated before the next entry.

D. March 6, 2.45 P.M.—'A momentous Cabinet in Arlington Street, where Salisbury appeared, much better, but looking rather worn and wearied.'

D. March 9.—'I went down to Windsor on Saturday evening and had Lord Cranborne, a pleasant boy, for companion. At 7 I was summoned by the Queen and foresaw what happened—a trying interview. She admitted the advantage of what we proposed, but the interference with her foreign trip was so inconvenient that she feared she must give it up. She was very much agitated. Good Friday and Easter Sunday of course made arrangements more difficult.'

D. March 19.—'Northcote made his announcement, I was told, extremely well, and the House received it apparently with satisfaction. Beaconsfield notified our intention in the fewest words, and Granville said nothing. I expect there will be much stir to-day, and am curious to see the papers. Our secret did not leak out anywhere, though there were many necessarily cognisant of it. What will be the issue? I can say personally that I could welcome release, but I really dread the predominance of Radicalism, and Whiggism is no more. I expect that we shall have much moderate support.'

D. March 20.—'The House met yesterday to give assent to two bills, and I had two questions to answer. As I left I saw Beaconsfield walking down, thinking we met at the usual hour—so stopped him and had a long saunter with him on the sunny side of the India Office sheltered from the east wind. He was cheerful about our prospects, but had his doubts about the counties, which surprised me. He often has means of judging which others have not.'

D. March 24.—'To-day I am to form part of the Committee to prorogue, and the writs will go out to-night, which I hope to spend happily at Hemsted. "Hardy" candidates multiply, for a note from John announces that he is out for his division—East Staffordshire. May good fortune attend them—and if it be for the good of the country, as I hope, the Ministry! Amen.'

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SWING OF THE PENDULUM (1880)

THE hopes for the success of the 'Hardy' candidates and of the Ministry, with which the last chapter concludes, were not destined to be fulfilled. The victory of the Liberals was more complete than had been anticipated by the most sanguine of their supporters. The Ministerial majority was swept away, and the new Parliament consisted of 349 Liberals, 243 Conservatives, and 60 Home Rulers. The fate of the Hardy candidates, equally disastrous, may just be noted in passing. My brother Stewart lost his seat for Rye by the narrow majority of 8 votes, my uncle John was badly beaten in East Staffordshire, and the victory I gained at Canterbury, where I was returned at the head of the poll, turned out but a Pyrrhic one, as my colleague and I were unseated on petition, although the Commission which enquired into the circumstances of the election thoroughly exonerated me from any personal connivance with the irregularities for which I had to suffer. The Ministers decided to resign without meeting Parliament, and Mr. Gladstone undertook to form a Government. It will be seen that my father thought his official career was at an end.

This result of the election was a complete surprise to the wirepullers. Pasted into the next volume of Diary, headed in red ink in my father's handwriting, 'Election predictions!' is the following letter of Sir George Russell, who was then taking an active part in the work of the Central Office :

'*March 29, 1880.*

'My dear Lord Cranbrook

'I have nothing but that which is encouraging to report. The prospects in Scotland and Ireland are likely to be better rather than worse than we anticipated. The Metropolitan reports are daily more rosy, and in Chelsea our candidates have 10,000 promises and 9000 ought to win. From all Metropolitan constituencies alike the reports are daily more sanguine. I cannot instance *one* constituency where our prospects have become more gloomy during the last few days, whilst I could name many where our prospects have brightened. I am entitled therefore to take the view which I do take, namely a cheerful one, and I can only say that our failure to secure a substantial majority would be contrary to reasonable expectation.

'More than this of course I cannot say.

'Always yours most faithfully,

'George Russell.'

The alternations of hope and fear are recorded from day to day. It will be seen that my father was never so sanguine as the correspondent quoted above.

D. March 29, 1880.—'Our forty-second wedding day. May it be an auspicious one to commence my new book! I ended the last on Harold's birthday, the day on which Parliament was prorogued and dissolved. Before leaving London I paid a long-promised visit to Val Prinsep's studio to see his great picture of the Delhi Durbar. Its interest is in the portraits of every great Chief in India, and the composition and grouping are subservient to that object. Such pictures do not interest me greatly, but some of the separate sketches did so. We have favourable reports from

Stewart and Alfred, but the Ballot gives one pause, and checks too sanguine anticipations.'

D. March 31.—'The strife is in full action to-day, and some sixty or more borough elections will be decided. The weather looks like change, but I hope our political barometer will indicate fair weather on to-day's poll.'

D. April 1.—'Just as we were going to dinner last night two telegrams arrived, one to announce Cicy's confinement of a son—all well' (Hon. Nigel Gathorne-Hardy, Northumberland Fusiliers), 'and the other that Leominster and Horsham were won. We hear the same of both seats at Maidstone to-day. . . 2.30 P.M.—The news is not good. Yesterday the Liberals gained 25 seats to our nine—a large proportion out of the number of contests. It looks to me as if the dangerous condition of almost a tie may be the result.'

D. April 2.—'The more I think of yesterday's news, the more adverse does it seem, and alas! I have to add Rye, and Bath, to the losses. We had been cheered by the success of our candidates at Canterbury, just as we sat down to dinner. Stewart was but 8 behind, but that is enough. I do feel grieved for him, because he loses an honourable and useful occupation. It is the fate of war and we must bear it patiently.'

D. April 3.—'The tide has turned and I am not sanguine. We are beaten, and must prepare for the result with calmness. I do not feel surprised, for I could not accept the very hopeful view of our Whips.'

D. April 4.—'Walpole telegraphs a net loss yesterday of ten seats, which as far as I can reckon makes 57 seats lost, or 114 votes. Of course this includes Home Rulers, and I have not counted them up. The defeat, however, is most disastrous and complete, and, as I wrote to H.R.H.,

the thunder has come from a clear sky. I am anxious to hear what Beaconsfield thinks and proposes. The Hoopoe, our strange visitor, is showing himself constantly.'

(It will be seen that the writer could still interest himself in natural history. I well remember the appearance of the pretty Southern bird on the lawn.)

D. April 6.—'Walpole telegraphs the victory of Gladstone in Midlothian, and the net loss of four seats yesterday. The former I fully expected, for the losses of the last few days would impart strength to Gladstone. His majority is 211—not a great result of the flood of talk and expenditure of toil. It is enough, however, for the purpose of annoying the Duke of Buccleuch.'

D. April 10.—'Our downward course has been steady—Kent and the Metropolitan counties stand firm. Our losses elsewhere, however, are most serious, and in many cases by the smallest majorities. As I got a telegram on Thursday evening from Beaconsfield wishing to see me, I went up by express yesterday and had an interview. He seemed to me very well, and bearing with calmness the great reverse of fortune. We first talked over Lytton's return, and he approved of what had been done. L. will hold till his successor comes out if the incomers wish it. Then as to our future course—I was at first in favour of meeting Parliament, but as the overwhelming manifestation against us has developed, I have changed my mind, and so I told him, and found that he had undergone the same process. What could we gain by an angry discussion of topics talked bare, with no possibility of opening a future? Our duty and necessity is to be quiet, and to wait for opportunities which will come in due course, and the more certainly if we do not try to force them. However, a

Cabinet is to meet on Wednesday, and, as B. is to see the Queen on Sunday, the day is not far off when our fate will be decided. We shall be in a deplorable condition in the House, and at my age I may bid adieu to office, as I think I can do with calmness. Lord Hampton's death is recorded —not unexpected. He was always a very kind friend to me, and had many good qualities. He was a real man of business, and very resolute in his opinions and in his actions. He had reached 80 years unbent and unbroken, and when I last saw him did not look frail.'

D. April 15.—'Our Cabinet began with Northcote, who was, hesitatingly, for meeting Parliament. The Chancellor followed *contra*, and Cross and I next, with him. Then all agreed one after another, and Northcote practically yielded in opinion as in act. We are to meet again next Wednesday, and then no doubt shall resign, if, which cannot be questioned, Her Majesty assents to that course. The arguments seemed to me overwhelming in favour of the course on which we determined.'

D. April 20.—'A most unexpected favour greeted me in coming down yesterday morning in the shape of a proposal from the Queen to confer on me to-day the Grand Cross of the Star of India. I have never asked for such distinctions, and certainly their value is enhanced by being unsought.

'*3.40* P.M.—Just got back from Windsor, and may as well record the incident. Walked to Paddington with Richmond and Charles Peel, and found Cross, John Manners, Northcote, and Cave (looking terribly ill), to be made G.C.B., Mr. Tilley and Harrison, K.C.B., Hope, Bourke, Dyke, and Ponsonby, Privy Councillors. When my turn came to be invested and Knighted, Her Majesty on my kissing hands gave me a hearty pressure with hers, and when

I was called in for an interview afterwards nothing could exceed her gracious kindness. She said that she was losing not only a Ministry that she liked, but so many good friends. When I thanked her for the distinction so unexpectedly bestowed, she said I had well earned it—regretted my going, but believed I should soon be back, in which, I fear, I cannot agree.'

D. April 21.—'Last night, with a gracious note, the Queen sent me the last volume of the Prince Consort's Life—probably the last gift that I shall receive from her, for at the Cabinet to-day our resignation will really be settled, and who can foresee what will happen in the next few years?'

D. April 22.—'Our last Cabinet was rather conversational. The Chief repeated what Her Majesty had said in effect to me—that she had never been more content with a Ministry, or parted with one with more regret. Her intention was, and he thought her constitutionally right, to send for Hartington to-day when our resignations are in her hands. He then thanked us all for the cordiality and harmony with which we had worked with him. The Chancellor expressed briefly what we all felt, and Northcote, Cross, and Salisbury added a few words; the last saying that there had never been a cloud between him and the Prime Minister through all their arduous work. All assented heartily to the expressions of good feeling, and I can record without hesitation my belief that a more united Cabinet than the one that has now been dissolved has never sat. We discussed the future, and Smith and Salisbury undertook to meet Dyke and others, and consult as to our strategy to redeem our position, which the Chief viewed without despondency. Monty Corry is to have a peerage, which will surprise, though, the more

I think of it, the less I see of objection. He has the means, through his aunt, and has had a political education such as few have enjoyed.'

D. April 23.—'Nothing definite known, but that Hartington went with Granville to Windsor and returned. The general belief is that Gladstone is the inevitable. A victory by Donald Stewart near Ghazni, and its capture, are events that may well wind up my administration.'

D. April 25.—'Gladstone went to Windsor on Friday and came back First Lord, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. There was no other solution but that he should be Chief, and falsify his pledge of retirement.'

D. April 27.—'Yesterday's papers brought news of half the Cabinet, all old members—no Radical as yet, though there is Radicalism enough in some of the old lot. Hartington is to succeed me, and I wrote to offer him such information as he desired, and he will call upon me to-day. I met Northbrook, who was very polite and friendly, he goes to the Admiralty; Forster, which is important, to Ireland. I took my leave of the Council individually, and of Sir T. Seccombe and Burne, who were almost touching in their expressions, and wrote a note of leave-taking to Sir L. Mallet.

'Richmond walked with me to Paddington, where we met our colleagues at 12, and were soon at Windsor. As Her Majesty kept Richmond rather long our interviews were short, but she expressed herself very graciously, thanked me for my "devotion," "feared she was not going to have very tranquil times." "Mr. Gladstone would not," she expected, "go on very long, and indeed he had said so himself." Our successors arrived before we had completed the surrender of our seals, but were kept apart from us. They had not

come down complete, for Chamberlain! who is proclaimed of the Cabinet, was not there. There are omissions and inclusions which will make a stir. Northcote and I received the freedom of the Merchant Taylors in the evening. . . . I must record among Gladstonian extravagances his reply to the Queen, when she expressed surprise at his taking the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. "I have no one fit for it—there is no one fit for it except Northcote, and I cannot offer it to him."'

D. April 30.—'It was bitterly cold when I sauntered to the Club in the afternoon. Plenty of gossip going on. Chamberlain and Mundella's appointments keenly criticised. The latter will do mischief, for he has pledged himself on some educational questions, especially as to teachers. Of Chamberlain's I think as badly, and it must be felt as a slight to many passed over. Stansfeld I do not regret, but he is, I hear, furious. Bourke told me how it came about. Chamberlain was not to have had office, but Dilke saw his way to press him instead of himself, and he no doubt looks to a greater future from his present important, though lower, position. How he will work with Gladstone and Granville, being a Jingo as he admits, I do not quite see.'

On May 5 he writes: 'The arrangement and destruction of papers occupies a good deal of time.' Personally I may perhaps be permitted to express a wish that he had destroyed more. An immense mass of correspondence remains. A portion of a letter written to Lord Lytton on April 5 may conclude the history of the change of Ministry. In a letter received on April 2 the Governor-General had written:

'Whenever, if ever, you have reason to believe that

the Government is going out, will you oblige me by asking the Prime Minister to place my resignation in the hands of Her Majesty simultaneously with his own? I do not wish to . . . be dragged at the car of the young Octavius.'

'My dear Lytton

'Our correspondence draws to a close, for there is no doubt that my time of Office must be short. Anything so disastrous as the elections of the last four days cannot be imagined. They must have surprised our opponents, who were by no means eager to try their strength, as completely as ourselves. No doubt the losses of the first day told seriously on those that followed, for there is ever in the vulgar a leaning to the winning side.

'It is no use going into details, we are beaten along the whole line, and the effect upon the counties will be serious. Confidence has been shaken upon our side, and so increased upon the other that they will dare everything, and our people will suspect the soundness of their calculations. How to account for the degringolade I know not, but misfortune has dogged our steps from the outset. The commercial depression began in '74, indeed the shades were falling at the end of '73. Bad harvests have succeeded one another, affecting both trade and agriculture. War, not of our seeking, came upon us, and our ineffectual attempts to save Turkey from her own idiotic follies, during, and since, her war, have all told against us; and then the desire of change to see what will come of it has done the rest. Well! personally I can retire with a good grace, and without one feeling of regret, but I dread another Gladstonian Government and its effects, nor can I see without apprehension the class of Liberals which will be

in the ascendant, hostile as it is to everything that is conservative in no party sense. Rough times are before us, and we must meet them with courage and constancy, and with a steady and continuous effort to retrieve our position in all the constituencies. Why however should I bore you with these gloomy anticipations? In all probability our meeting will not be long deferred, for your resignation will accompany ours. Your letter of March 7th contained it conditionally, and it has been confirmed by telegraph. I passed on your words to the Chief but have not since heard from him.

'As our official connection is to cease let me say how I thank you for its cordial character, and how I hope that we have laid the foundations for a lasting friendship. Not unfrequently I have had to differ in some small matters, but in principle we have acted together throughout, and serious as have been some of the results, I do not see that we have any reason to repent of the course which policy compelled us to adopt. I should rejoice if, even during the short time that you continue to hold the reins, you could effect something for the pacification of Afghanistan. Your successor, I think, will have to follow your lines, and will find that declamation at home, and action in India, are very different things. I sincerely hope that justice will be done you here at once by the Government under which you have served, and eventually by the whole country.'

Lord Lytton's letter of April 7, which crossed with the above, is printed in Lady Betty Balfour's book (p. 420). It is equally cordial.

'I trust, dear Lord Cranbrook, that those personal relations between us which to me have been such pleasant ones, may survive their official ties; and that on my return

to England you will allow me to regard you as a political, though no longer as an official chief. I assure you that I shall always recall with the liveliest gratitude the encouraging confidence and generous support with which you have honoured me, during a very critical and anxious period of my Indian Administration.'

The remainder of the volume was written in a position of 'greater freedom, and less responsibility.'

D. May 2.—'I spent the afternoon very agreeably in the Academy, which pleased me with many pictures. Vicat Cole's landscapes most refreshing, some excellent portraits. Leighton charming in some of his fancies. The dinner went off as usual. The President made good speeches, Gladstone was long and not artistic. Bret Harte read a speech with one or two amusing points.'

His account of the meeting of the party at Bridgewater House comes at the end of a description of a pleasant visit to Wilton. He expresses his indignation at the incorrect reports of the proceedings which appeared in the papers. I was myself present at the gathering, and well remember the enthusiasm with which the party greeted Lord Beaconsfield's announcement that he intended to continue to lead his stricken followers in Opposition, but the toil-worn body was not destined long to carry out the behests of the dauntless spirit.

D. May 20.—'We had a charming visit to Wilton, which commenced on Saturday, and ended yesterday morning. There was a very cheerful party, Lady Lothian, Lady Fitz-Hardinge, Balfour, Gosling, Reginald Talbot, and Sidney Herbert, were there. Lady Pembroke was always trying to make things agreeable. The place as a summer residence is lovely—such lawns—such streams—such trees

—one seldom sees, and the Park slope opposite the house is beautiful. We saw Salisbury Cathedral, and Stonehenge, on Tuesday. Externally the former is magnificent, and it stands in a peaceful and picturesque close. Inside it wants the subdued tone which suits such buildings, and there is a marked absence of good glass. The building itself, however, is simple and grand. As to Stonehenge, it was much what I expected, solemn, and impressive, the more you see it, and think of its dim history. The vast plain is very striking.

'A two hours' sitting in the Bridgewater gallery listening to Beaconsfield and others. B. spoke at great length and effectively. The newspaper reports are fictitious, and put into his mouth and those of others language never used. All the old Cabinet but Beach dined at Salisbury's, and Marlborough took his place. The speech is not an impressive or well-composed production. On Afghanistan it is obscure. I do not suppose, however, we shall have much discussion about it in the Lords. The Queen through Lady Ely has sent me her bust in memory of Balmoral days. It is gratifying.'

The Session was not one which called for much intervention on the part of Lord Cranbrook. The Burials Bill, on which he held a strong opinion, was carried through the Lords after a somewhat half-hearted fight, in which the defenders despaired of success from the first.

D. May 28.—'Selborne, in a very long speech, introduced his Burials Bill, to the explanation of which he devoted a very small part of his oration. It is Lord Harrowby's plan, with some relaxation of the bonds of the clergy, and a recognition of the work of Convocation on the Burial Service. It will need study, but it is

Christian, and concession, not admission, of right. It may be the best we can secure. We are to consider it to-morrow in council at Ridley's.'

D. May 30.—'Joined Beaconsfield, and others, at Ridley's, to discuss the Burials Bill, etc. We did not see our way not to oppose, but have little hopes of such a majority as will prevent unconstitutional modes of over-riding us. It is evident that, with most, the game is considered up.'

D. June 2.—'I have just come from a Convocation breakfast at Beauchamp's. Bishops of Lincoln, St. Albans, Lichfield, Hereford, Ely, Chichester, Bedford, Alwyne Compton, Gregory, Hubbard, Hope, W. Egerton, Gibbs, Street, C. Wood, Dickinson, Talbot. We discussed the Burials Bill, and there is much shakiness among some. If with them, what must it be outside such a phalanx of Churchmen? I think we shall be beaten, and perhaps so best. Surrender or compromise is out of the question, for what is gained?'

D. June 4.—'I took part in the Burials Bill debate, but did not speak to my own satisfaction, and ought to have looked at my notes. The debate was tedious, and there was no really telling speech. Derby, with his cold pros and cons, was disagreeable, and certainly managed to get rid of everything like feeling or sentiment. Selborne replied well. We divided much as I expected after so large a defection of Bishops, including the Archbishops, and Bishop of London, 126 against our 101.'

D. June 25.—'The Burials Bill in the Lords drew very unepiscopal speeches from Peterborough and the Primate, who scolded each other angrily. Both showed much cleverness, but it was not a seemly altercation. Beaconsfield said a few words, but not in his best manner.

So the Bill passes from us, and I expect will be with us again a good deal altered.'

My father, as will be seen from these extracts, did not so much object to concession to the Nonconformists as to the possible inferences with regard to their rights which might in future be drawn from their admission to the churchyards. Much of his spare time was given this year to working on the Cathedral Commission, which, like many other laborious inquiries, led to no great results. On June 16 he made the acquaintance of the United States Minister, the poet Lowell. He had always been a great admirer of his 'Biglow Papers' and of many of his serious poems. The acquaintance afterwards ripened into friendship.

D. June 16.—'I have been to see the freedom of the City given to the King of the Hellenes. I was a solitary representative of the old Government, but perhaps it was well that there should be one sign of their sympathy with Greece. I was next Lowell, the U.S. Minister, whom I had not met before. I found him chatty and cheery.'

Among the letters preserved is an amusing one of Mr. Lowell's of March 18, 1881, containing an original composition which may here be inserted with my father's rhymed reply.

'DEAR LORD CRANBROOK

'Are you human enough ('tis a nice test) to like puns in proportion to their badness? If so, you will not be too much horrified with an old one of mine, that the first au-toe-graphs were the tracks left by birds on ancient sea margins, and now to be seen in Geological museums on tablets of stone—where more store is set by them now, I fear,

than by those of Moses. They were at any rate the only unconscious autographs, for when we are asked for one we are as unable to be natural as when we are sitting for our photographs. I felt so much flattered the other day, that in the expansion (which is the Latin for being puffed up, as tace is for candle!) of the moment, I promised to write you another. But I have found it dreadfully hard to do the same thing over again—especially while my head is humming with the three P's—Piscatory rights, pigs, and Paddy. But I like to keep my word, and so to distract my mind from the irritation of the fleas (sic) aforesaid, I compelled it into your service in hammering out the verses written opposite, which I hand over to your entire control for the exigencies of autograph writing, or for the waste paper basket if that seem to you their more proper destiny. Pray do not thank me for them, or you will make me ashamed. They will prove at least (and that is what they are meant for) how sincerely I am yours

'J. R. LOWELL.

'*Cuiviscunque*

'On Earth Columbus wrote his name,
Mongolfier on the circling air.
Lesseps in water did the same,
Franklin traced his in living flame,
Newton in space's desert bare.

'Safe with the primal elements
Their signatures august remain:
While the fierce hurtle of events
Hurls us and our ephemeral tents
Beyond oblivion's mere disdain.

'Our names, as what we write on, frail
Time spunges out like helpless scores,
Unless for mine it should prevail
To turn awhile the faltering scale
Of memory thus to make it yours.

'*Quivis.*

'At the old stand in Grub Street where all orders for autographs supplied at the shortest notice. Specimens sent if desired. No connection with any other firm.'

My father sent the following answer:

> ''Twere pity pigs, or Paddy's gammon,
> Should kindle strife twixt kindred nations—
> That fishing rights for cod or salmon
> Should fissure cause in good relations.
> Both lands, like you, may heaven please
> To bind in everlasting P's (peace).'

By this time it had become manifest that Lord Beaconsfield was not mistaken in looking upon the condition of Ireland as the great difficulty ahead. The Compensation for Disturbance Bill, introduced by Mr. Forster, was greatly disliked by the moderates on the Liberal side, of whom 20 voted against the second reading in the House of Commons, while 50 abstained. In the Lords, after two nights' debate, it was thrown out by a majority of 282 to 51. There are several references to it in the Diary.

D. July 10.—'Lord Lansdowne's resignation shows the feeling of the Whigs on Forster's Bill, but they do not stick to their guns in fighting it. Parnell's faction appears to be meaning obstruction to it. How the Premier will fume!'

D. July 20.—'Dined at Grillion's. Devon in the Chair. Sherbrooke was not silent on the Irish Land Bill, which he emphatically denounced. O that the Whigs had the courage of their opinions, for they are letting slip a great opportunity, and relying on the Lords to save them.'

D. August 3.—'The debate in the Lords was really all on one side, for Derby, who votes for the Bill (!), condemned,

and enforced by argument his condemnation of every point in it—but he votes because the Government say they need it for peace and order. Salisbury hit him hard. I had such a sick headache that I was unfit, or I should have spoken at that time. Lansdowne showed what they had lost in him by a speech of admirable precision. Gladstone's illness may bring the session to an early close—they will hardly get on without him. I hope it may not be serious, but there are rumours of typhoid.'

D. August 4.—'Cairns made a very long, exhaustive, but not exhausting, speech which traversed the whole case and really left not much to say. I got a scrap of dinner at St. Stephen's, and returned. It then seemed from Lathom's account that I had better not speak for fear of an adjournment, but while Monck was on his legs Beaconsfield suddenly urged me to do so. I was not long, and avoided detail. Argyll followed in a carefully prepared exercise; able, but rather meant to still his conscience, than to convert his audience to support a Bill which evidently he disliked extremely. Beaconsfield wound up somewhat heavily except in his concluding sentences, and we had hardly room in the lobby for the almost unprecedented 282 against 51. My impression is that the Whigs with us will equal the Ministerial numbers.'

D. August 5.—'The Liberal opponents of the Bill outnumbered the Ministerial force! Gladstone better, and there is a talk of his appearing in the House before the end of the session, the end of which is problematical.'

He left London on August 9 for Teaninich, a place which he had taken in Ross-shire. (*S.*) 'Much we enjoyed it, although the fishing failed, and the game was not up to expectation.' He returned to London on August 23 for the

Employers' Liability and Ground Game Bills. 'We might,' he writes (August 27), 'have made mincemeat of the Employers' Liability Bill, but we were moderate, according to Bramwell's view, who writes to me warmly, a great deal too yielding.'

The leaders had some difficulty in controlling their followers over the Ground Game Bill, but prudent courses prevailed.

D. August 8.—'We had a large meeting at B.'s, and he spoke with remarkable prudence and vigour, but there was much difference of opinion, and Redesdale had many followers, though they may not support him in a division on the second reading. The question is one of policy, and the principle involved is not so serious as some seem to think, though no doubt important. The discussion was long, but I suppose all will end as our leader desired.'

D. August 30.—'We had the Ground Game Bill this evening. Beaconsfield was admirable, and would have shamed Redesdale's followers had they not pledged themselves to him. As it was the Division was hopeless, only 20 to 68. I, like B., did not vote. Richmond went for the Bill.'

On September 1 he started on his return to Scotland, well satisfied with the course of events. 'We on the Front Bench materially helped Government, which would have been crushed by our strong force had it not been temperately handled.'

D. October 1.—'This day' (his birthday) 'ends a very happy sojourn at Teaninich. Thank God! I begin a New Year with health and every blessing around me. I must not expect many happy returns, and be prepared for none.'

He visited Murthly and Alnwick on his way South.

S.—'I was glad to see the latter, and recall my first view on our Scotch tour when about 11 years old. I distinctly recollected and enquired for the particular spot, which the Duke at once knew.'

He entertained many visitors at Hemsted in the autumn, among them the Lyttons, Pembrokes, and Salisburys. He records an interesting conversation with the latter as to the destination of 'Elijah's mantle.'

D. October 25.—'In the evening I made an occasion to discuss with Salisbury the future, which I had done fully with Lytton. I found that Beaconsfield had urged his succession, and it seems to me natural and inevitable. He is willing to place himself at the disposal of the party if Northcote's feelings are respected. It is obvious that, with all his admirable qualities, Northcote has not obtained that sort of confidence from the party which alone could justify his obtaining the Chiefship. A Cave exists and will grow. He is often right when they think him wrong, but he has an appearance of yielding which displeases. Beaconsfield is, I am afraid, very weak after his unusually severe fit of gout and asthma. The Salisburys confirm the poor account which the Lyttons gave. He will not go to Cannes, which Kidd recommends, and Hughenden is, for a solitary, a cold and cheerless home in winter. He is not sufficiently well off to have a house in London as well, but he would be better there. He is, however, so attached to Hughenden and his library, that he clings to them.'

He visited Lowmoor and opened a Church Institute at Leeds.

'I was heartily received, and Dr. Gott and others were pleased with what I said, which fell far short of what I

meant to say. That is always the case. Herbert Gladstone followed and approved, and indeed both privately and publicly treated me with extreme courtesy. He steered fairly through a rocky channel, and did not strike any projecting points.'

In November the Bartle Freres and the Claughtons visited Hemsted. He was much pleased with the Bishop's appreciation of his hostess.

D. November 21.—'The Bishop wrote that Lady Cranbrook was the best hostess in England, Scotland, or Ireland. True, I believe!'

He was much pressed to attend demonstrations, to which he records 'three invitations in one day,' but only spoke at one at Ashridge, where he 'had a good reception and spoke strongly on Ireland, but I think said nothing for anyone to complain of.' The Irish question was becoming acute, as appears from the following letter of the Chief:

Beaconsfield to Cranbrook.

'*December 12.*

'Affairs are critical. Some persons are of opinion that they will not meet Parliament. That is not my opinion, but it is entertained by competent judges of these matters. It is, under the circumstances, of the last importance that there should be no pilot balloons sent from the Conservative camp. Our friends are too fond of airing their remedial theories. What is really happening in Ireland is a revolution, which might have been stopped a couple of months ago—indeed, was hardly contemplated by Parnell himself. He tried it on, and the Government—no matter for what reason or cause, encouraged him.'

D. December 8.—'I rather grudged my trip to London

to be the guest of the East India United Service Club, which entertained General Roberts. I felt bound to accept the invitation to meet him, as I was in a sense responsible for his appointment and early acts, and wished to have an opportunity of making his acquaintance, and expressing personally my thanks for his services. I was much pleased with him, and his speech was so manly, modest, and eulogistic of his comrades and men, while omitting himself, that I was quite won by it. Hartington made a good chairman, and spoke to the purpose. I made a short speech on proposing the Indian service, which was very warmly received. I was rather sorry to find myself the only "be-ribboned" man except Roberts, but I thought it due to treat my hosts with honour. Roberts spoke to me about the attacks on himself, which he forgave, except as to two who had been his friends and had no excuse.'

The year ended politically in storm.

D. December 24.—'Ireland, the Transvaal, and Basutoland menacing. Not a peaceful time this Christmas! Salisbury writes me the wish of the season, that I may have no land in Ireland.'

CHAPTER XXV

A YEAR OF TROUBLE (1881)

THE year 1881 was one of great sorrow and anxiety, both on public and private grounds. The political outlook was gloomy. Trouble in Ireland had become acute, and disaster overtook our arms in the Transvaal. The heads of two great States, autocratic Russia and Republican America, met their deaths by assassination. Lord Beaconsfield's death on April 19 removed a great Leader and a warm personal friend. Then a bereavement, sudden and unexpected, fell upon the family; the death of my youngest brother Harold, the Benjamin of the flock, whose career of brilliant promise came to an end on June 11 in his thirty-first year. It will be seen from the Diary how deeply my father felt this loss. At Radley and at University College, Oxford, Harold's career had been one of unbroken success. His first-class at Oxford had been followed by his election to a fellowship at All Souls. He had then gone to Lowmoor to take a leading part in the conduct of the family business, and in the short time he had been there had gained the love and respect of his workmen and colleagues. His epitaph, written by his sorrowing father, runs as follows: 'An unspotted life is old age.' His death was followed by the serious and dangerous illness of my mother. Through all this trouble Lord Cranbrook continued to take an active part in public affairs, and was consulted by all his colleagues in every difficulty, especially on the delicate question of the Leadership of the House of Lords. Before resuming the narrative, I will deal with this question by itself.

It had been evident for some time before this that Lord Beaconsfield could not much longer carry on his gallant struggle to continue his political career, and guide the party in spite of illness and infirmity. In October of the previous year my father had been in correspondence with the Duke of Richmond on the subject. I quote from the reply dated October 26, 1880:

'My dear Cranbrook

'Your letter is the first intimation I have had that Beaconsfield was unwell. I am truly sorry to hear so poor an account of him. I trust he may soon get better, but these very severe attacks make one feel very uncomfortable about him. I never imagined that he would take an active part at the beginning of next session; that time of year in London which never suits him, especially when we have these bad fogs; but I still hope we may have the benefit of his advice and counsel. I quite agree with you that we ought to be prepared in the event of Beaconsfield being compelled from any cause to abstain from giving us any assistance. I have for some time thought that we must look to Salisbury in such an event. Indeed I said as much to him at the time we resigned office, and I understood him not to decline the responsibility. However, as our conversation was very confidential, I should not like to be quoted. Whenever the necessity arises whatever is done must be done, I conclude, in a formal manner. The Peers require a little management, but I feel confident they would be satisfied with Salisbury as leader.'

Parliament met early in January, and my father called on Lord Beaconsfield immediately upon his arrival in town.

D. January 5, 1881.—'He unhappily has a fit of the gout, which leaves him by no means so "fit" as he was, but he means to be at his post to-morrow, and to receive us at a meeting in the morning. I sat with him long, and found that we were much agreed upon the course to be taken.'

D. February 1.—'After a few minutes in the Lords I cast a look at the jaded Commons in the 26th hour of their sitting! The Speaker wearily lolling in his chair; pale scattered M.P.s here and there on the benches, and an Irish speaker without the true brogue or one spark of humour or life. He shortened my stay. The matter, however, is serious, and the contest involves much. How to close it?—by what closure without risking the liberty of minorities? What has struck me is a non-party vote, decisive from its numbers, that a question is urgent, which shall give certain powers for that question.'

D. February 3.—'The Speaker at last intervened: whether within or without the law of Parliament may be questioned, but with the full assent of all the House but the malignants. In the extraordinary circumstance, I think that, as a most exceptional proceeding, he may be justified as the mouthpiece of 600 men. About 9.30 he put the question, but at 12 his conduct came into debate, and when will that end? I spoke at Morgan Howard's great banquet at the Crystal Palace last night. It was a splendid gathering, and many peers and M.P.s were at the high table. Too many toasts, and speeches on the common toasts, threw things late, the dinner was plain and well served for over 800 people in an hour.

'1 P.M.—Headache has rather troubled me, but I went to the meeting of the Commons at the Chief's house and heard his admirable speech—I did not feel fit for more, so have come home again.'

D. February 4.—'I did not go to the House, or I should have looked into the Commons, where the *Globe* informed us that Dillon was removed for resisting the Speaker, and perhaps more violence followed. There appears from the precautions taken to be serious information in the hands of the Government as to Fenian designs.'

D. February 5.—'All quiet last night in the H. of C. The rebels are a little stunned at the appearance of "Force, which is no remedy"!'

D. February 23.—'We had a meeting of the old Cabinet this morning on the state of things in the House of Commons. "Urgency" has brought results which will, I hope, prevent its ever being applied again except for the whole House. Mischievous even then!'

D. February 24.—'Beaconsfield spoke highly of my short speech on Friday (an impromptu answer to the Duke Argyll on the Afghan question).'

D. February 28 (*Majuba Hill*).—'My heart bleeds to read of this new disaster in the Transvaal. It seems to have happened from want of ammunition, dearly expiated by General and men.'

He defended his Afghan administration in the Lords with success.

D. March 4.—'I have been busy looking up the Candahar question, as I moved the adjournment in the Lords. Lytton was good, but perhaps wanting in power. Enfield polite, and feeble with his long quotations, many inapplicable. Derby cold, clear, and apothegmatic. Salisbury severe on his mean views of the duty of the Lords, and powerful in parts. Northbrook made one or two points against us, but was not forcible in the argument.'

D. March 5.—'My speech was warmly received and from all quarters I was overwhelmed with compliments. Certainly, I had a most attentive and appreciative audience.'

D. March 10.—'Just returned from Windsor. The Danish Minister and wife—and the Vernon Harcourts were guests. The Queen was cheerful and looked remarkably well. She had so many to talk to after dinner that she could not linger long. She thought we were well out of Ministerial troubles. Madame de Falbe is agreeable. I walked to Eton this morning before leaving.'

D. March 11.—'Just come from a meeting of the old Cabinet at Beaconsfield's (he rather gouty, but improving), to consider Gladstone's proposition of urgency for supply. All adverse to granting it. What is the *raison d'être* of a House of Commons? Some of the votes demand full discussion.'

D. March 13.—'Notwithstanding Northcote's intimation on urgency, Gladstone gave notice to move it on Monday, so a conflict seems inevitable. A large meeting at the Carlton confirmed the view taken at Beaconsfield's.'

D. March 14.—'The horrible assassination of the Czar, of which I was informed by the Duchess of Teck last night, will cause profound emotion throughout Europe. The mode of it was cruel, and showed an utter disregard alike of others and of the perpetrators, who have been captured. Northcote's manifesto on urgency will fall tamely this morning, but it is good.'

D. March 15.—'Naturally, all tongues were busy with the cruel butchery at St. Petersburg. One cannot read of it, or think of it, without a thrill of horror. Gladstone obstinately persisted in his motion, at which I was present, but did not muster 3 to 2—not 300 answering to his call! Supply went rapidly, and progress was reported by the

Government itself. The House of Commons at the beginning was electrically charged, signs of heat and turmoil everywhere—a strange scene!'

D. March 19.—'The sad tidings of Lady Mildred's death' (Lady Mildred Beresford Hope, sister of Lord Salisbury) 'came this morning. From what we hear of her suffering, and prospects of life if spared, she is released from trouble. The husband and family, for whom she did everything, will feel the want of her guiding head, and hand. We shall miss a genuinely kind friend and neighbour.'

He saw his old Chief for the last time on March 26, and the first note of danger is struck two days later:

D. March 27.—'I met Salisbury and Cairns at Beaconsfield's yesterday, and we had an interesting talk over the Transvaal disgrace. The Chief has been poorly, and feels weak and ill, but his servant and Barrington thought him really better. The cold which accompanies these bright days makes the house the only place for him.'

D. March 30.—'The accounts of Lord Beaconsfield in the papers yesterday morning surprised and startled me, for I had walked to the House with Barrington the evening before, and he spoke cheerfully of the gout having got fully out, and the Chief being on the mend. It is clear that he is very ill. Cairns saw the Doctors (Kidd and Quain), the latter spoke of thinking that "they would pull him through," a phrase hardly of encouragement! Beaconsfield's age of course is against him, and weakness from a period of confinement and wearing asthma. Still I hope we may hear of advancement in strength, and more freedom from cough to-day.'

Better accounts followed, and early in April my father started for a tour in Italy accompanied by my two youngest sisters. He writes of all the delights of scenery and architecture with the zest of a schoolboy, but I need not give details. He encountered a great storm on the Lake of Lugano just after receiving the news of the death of his Chief at Bellagio.

D. April 21.—'Alas! I heard that Lord Beaconsfield died at 4 on Tuesday morning. I will not comment on the great event, but treat it rather as the loss of a private friend whom I really regret. Much of a public kind must follow, and will need deep consideration. He had perhaps fulfilled his mission.'

D. April 22, Varese.—'What a day we have had! An inky sky gradually enveloped us, and a downpour almost incessant, and at times violent, followed us to Porto, ending with a great thunderstorm, the effect of which was extraordinary. Hailstones varying from marbles to pigeons' eggs rattled over our heads, and made the whole lake dance again. The "water elves" were three parts of a foot high for every stone that fell, and they were as thick "as the leaves of Vallombrosa." We had thought the pelting of the rain remarkable; but we shall retain in our memories the singular tumult raised on the Lake of Lugano. It is needless to say that only at intervals could we see the lofty shores of Lugano, but there were times when we could form a conception of its wild grandeur. Snow was lying low down on all the mountains, having fallen during the night, and the short hailstorm piled its weapons thickly on every available place. The clatter on the decks above us, mingled with the thunder and lightning, was startling. I have just read the *Times* account of the great Chief's death, which was calm and grave, and as it seems without

pain. Barrington and Rowton were at his side to the last. It was that day year, *Tuesday* (the 20th, not the 19th), that we gave up Office. I am afraid he felt the pressure of his Chiefship more than we were aware, and yet his keen thoughtful insight into public affairs was as noticeable as ever, and I doubt whether his insight into them would not have made complete retirement more burdensome. It appears that up to Wednesday it was not known when or where he would be buried. I wish I could pay him the last honours.'

In 1895, almost at the end of his Summary, he gives his personal impressions of the lost leader:

S. 1881.—'While we were travelling we had fair accounts of the Chief, but at Bellagio came the tidings of his death on a day now kept by his friends and admirers, April 19. He was a rare and remarkable character, and, as far as I had to do with him, a sure friend, and to be relied on as such. He was not a bitter enemy, as many supposed, and could forget and forgive private wrongs. Public criticism and animadversion he took for granted, and was never galled. He was not the impassive Sphinx drawn by some; and sitting by him I have noted feelings to which outsiders deemed him impervious. In the course of my career I often differed from him, but where there was time he was always ready for discussion, and not ashamed to give way if convinced. I owe much to his kindness, and as far as I know never failed to do my best in his service, especially when specially called upon, as was often the case. His life will attract attention in future times, and it will be recognised that his heart was with and for England and the Empire. I could not get back for the funeral which was so honoured, but his friends knew why it was.'

A letter from Her Majesty received on May 28 gives her tribute of sorrow at the loss of the great statesman :

'*Balmoral, May 25, 1881.*

'The Queen thanks Lord Cranbrook very much for his kind letter of the 21st. She is indeed grieved to hear of his great anxiety about his son and trusts to hear an improved account of him. The Queen longed to hear from Lord Cranbrook after our terrible loss of our beloved friend Lord Beaconsfield, for he was so kind to the Queen during his pleasant visits here in times of much anxiety, that she felt sure he would feel for her in what is a *dreadful* and *irreparable* loss to her. For whether in or out of office, she could always turn to dear Lord Beaconsfield for advice and help in so many things. He was a real friend and oh! so wise, so calm, and so kind. The Queen feels the loss more and more.

'But she feels she can at all times *rely* on Lord Cranbrook's loyalty and devotion to herself and country of which she has had so many proofs.'

D. May 29.—'The Queen wrote me a touching letter on Lord Beaconsfield's death, which I received yesterday. There are expressions in it on myself which are very gratifying.'

The question of the succession was settled in May. I give the correspondence and extracts here, although a little out of chronological order. Northcote's position was beginning to be made a difficult one by malcontents in the Lower House, and he was rightly anxious that nothing should be done to lessen his authority. The Duke of Richmond writes on May 5 :

'I have summoned a meeting of Peers for Monday at

Abergavenny's house in Dover Street. I intend then to propose that Salisbury should be Leader in the House of Lords. The question of Leader of the whole party is a matter with which we have no concern. This will be determined when (!) we turn out these people, and (the Queen) sends for some one to form a Government.'

Northcote to Cranbrook, May 7, 1881.

'MY DEAR CRANBROOK

'You are going to elect a Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords. That is all right, and I have nothing to say to it. But the *Standard* says that the Leader you elect will also be the general Leader of the party. It is of course impossible for a meeting of Peers alone to elect a Leader of the whole party. I only hope you will take care to make it quite clear that your action is confined to your own House. If this is not done I fear that there will be difficulties hereafter. Indeed, such another article as that to which I refer would probably bring them about very speedily. That would not be of much consequence, but I have reason to know that there would be a good deal of dissatisfaction amongst many of our supporters, including some of our late colleagues; and, in the critical state of our affairs in the House of Commons, anything like a split would be disastrous. I am writing this to yourself alone.

'S. H. N.'

Cranbrook to Northcote, May 8.

'MY DEAR NORTHCOTE

'I took the opportunity yesterday whenever I had it, to denounce the absurdity of the article in the *Standard*, written, no doubt, to give the impression that it had sources of

special information. Nothing can be more obvious than that even a Leader in the House of Lords could not be chosen without the consent of the Conservative Peers, and as to a Leader of the party, you may be sure that no one in the House of Lords would assume the right of proposing one, or the Peers of selecting. The Duke of Richmond assured me that he would make it perfectly clear that the meeting of to-morrow had nothing whatever to do beyond naming a Leader to act for them in the Lords, and I have no doubt that no mistake will be possible. The position taken by the *Standard* is becoming dangerous, and I spoke to Alfred Austin about it yesterday, but the party generally seems to be aware that it is in no sense our journal. I told you that there are opponents to Salisbury, but it seems to be the general impression that they will not put in an appearance. Depend upon it, we shall do nothing to weaken your position, which ought to have every possible support.'

D. May 9.—'Northcote wrote to me yesterday on the subject of the *Standard* article announcing Salisbury as Leader of the Party! I had spoken to many of the absurdity, in the first place, of assuming a decision before the Lords have met, and, secondly, of the assumption that the Lords could pretend to do more than choose a Leader *in* the Lords. I wrote to him in this sense, telling him that he need not fear that it would be left in obscurity, Richmond will see to that. I hope he does not think that I have taken any different part from what I have openly expressed to himself and others. I have never doubted that Salisbury would take B.'s place in the Lords. I think he will eventually be more, but that is perhaps not the present question.'

D. May 10.—'In walking up with Richmond to the

meeting at Abergavenny's I was rather surprised to find that in resigning the Leader's crown he gave indications that he would fain have kept it, and he revealed the real reason of renouncing it. He told me that he had said to Salisbury, "If Lady S. were the Duchess of Richmond you never would have been Leader." I thought last year that he had quite made up his mind to be free from the burden. His health at this time is by no means good, but as far as the Lords are concerned they would have supported him. All went smoothly. He spoke with excellent taste and judgment. Cairns the same. D. of Beaufort—Redesdale—Winmarleigh—Carnarvon. No opposition, though Pembroke was present. He would not set himself against the general feeling. So Salisbury is in authority, and seconded Granville's graceful speech for the monument to Beaconsfield, carried by us *nem. con.*'

The next extracts refer to my brother's illness and death, and are sad reading, but should not be altogether omitted, as any picture of my father would be imperfect which did not show his devoted affection for his family, and his resignation to the decrees of God's providence. The news of the illness (rapid consumption) came as a bolt from the blue. Although a delicate infant, Harold had enjoyed perfect health throughout his childhood and adolescence. I had just asked him to be godfather to my third and youngest child whom he was destined never to see. The first note of warning was received by my father at Venice on April 14.

D. April 14.—'A note from Jane gives us some uneasiness about Harold, who is unable to fulfil his intention of going to Paris with Henry (his brother-in-law, now Sir Henry Graham) to-day.'

From that date the accounts were fluctuating, but

were always sufficiently grave to cause uneasiness. The party at once turned homewards, and arrived in London before the end of the month. By May 4, my father had reached Lowmoor, and found the patient better than he had expected, the doctors holding out hopes that he might be moved to London in a fortnight, and talking of a year's rest from business being essential. He returned to London for his Parliamentary work, but his heart was at the bedside of his son. The reports became more and more alarming, and by the 19th all hope of a move was abandoned, and my cousin Laurence (now member for the Ashford division of Kent) came up to see my father, bearing a gloomy report from Dr. Clifford Allbutt, and Dr. Meade of Bradford, who were attending the patient. Laurence was then living with my brother, and sharing with him the conduct of the family business.

D. May 4.—'Laurence is as tender as a brother, almost sister—as prudent and careful as a nurse, we may be grateful that such a friend was at hand.'

D. May 19.—'Laurence arrived about 6.30, and confirmed my worst fears. Allbutt detected serious mischief going on in the left lung, and looks gloomily on the case. Far better that we should hear the truth, but one must not be absolutely hopeless.'

He arranged for Sir William Jenner, 'the first authority,' to consult with the other very skilful doctors, and returned the next day (May 20) to Lowmoor, where he remained until the end, which was not to be long delayed, although Jenner did not at first absolutely abandon hope. From that date hopes and fears alternated, the latter greatly preponderating, but, although there was a remarkable temporary rally, the end came on June 11.

D. May 26.—'Harry wished to see me alone. He had been questioning Laurence, who had answered prudently

but truly. I found him calm and thoughtful, and he began at once as to the need of a Will. I told him that by the law all he had would come to me, through whom it would of course come to his brothers. He said that if it would come to me that was all that he desired, but that he wished a provision for Sweetland and Mrs. Rogers (his servants), and I assured him that all his wishes would be met. He looked up at me with a sweet smile, and said, "Whatever happens we have been a happy family." Thank God! Then he said, "I feel better in myself, but disease of the lungs is, I suppose, dangerous?" I replied, "Nothing is to be considered impossible, but that Allbutt had been unfavourable as to the progress of the disease, and made us very anxious." "I must be as cheerful as I can," he said, "and God's will be done." I give a vague outline, but there was a resigned dignity in what he said, and in all his manner. God bless him! He has never disturbed our peace, except by this sad illness. . . . The air has been close and oppressive, and Harold felt it without suffering from it. It made walking rather trying. We find constant proofs of the character that Harold has gained here and in the county round. Twice this morning I was asked with tears after his condition, and one said that he never knew so great an interest in the place upon any subject. At Bradford we hear of the same feeling, and it is obvious that his calm consistent course has won for him warm appreciation. The Queen telegraphed to enquire herself this evening. I think the new arrivals (his brothers) would not estimate the extent of his illness from appearances. as indeed I should not. He desired this evening, after speaking of his interest in the Inclosure, to give £1000 to the completion of the Park. (Harold Park, near Lowmoor, the Inclosure referred to, now bears his name and contains a memorial fountain with a medallion portrait of him by

Roscoe Mullins.) To think that I should have omitted to notice our dear Evelyn's birthday! May she see many happier ones!'

D. June 11, 11.30 P.M.—'"For ever with the Lord." So we trust and believe. Shortly after 10, when Jane and the girls were gone, Laurence hurriedly called Stewart, C. G., and myself, and we were joined by the others, and round the bed where our dear Harold was passing away said the commendatory and other prayers for the parting spirit. The great change came with no struggle about 10.30, and our dear blessed boy is with the sisters gone before. God gave us him for 30 years, during which he never drew down a harsh word or thought upon himself, and while we do not penetrate the wisdom that has taken him from what seems a sphere of usefulness, we do not fail to believe and acknowledge that God knows and does best.'

D. June 15.—'Letters of sympathy pour in, some most touching from near friends, and some from strangers, showing their high estimate of dear Harry's character. Laurence says many wished to come to the funeral, but it seems hard to give them the expense and trouble. We are going to do all very quietly. It is so purely a family affliction here. If he had been buried at Lowmoor it would have been different.'

The funeral in the little churchyard at Benenden was quiet and private as he had wished, but there were many mourners by the grave.

D. June 17.—'All came back solaced by the holy service, and agreeing that all had been done as we would have had it. Now we must think of reunion; and at my age it cannot be very distant. May God prepare me, and all, for His

summons! How little did I dream of surviving Harold, who seemed so strong, and yet he is gone before! Letters of condolence are many, and from those who know Harry best come the most comforting, for they recognise the generosity and unselfishness of the heart that never thought ill, of the silent tongue that never said an unkind word. This morning brings a tender note from the Queen, delayed by going to Lowmoor House.'

'*Balmoral Castle, June 14, 1881.*

'The Queen must write a line to express her deep sympathy with Lord and Lady Cranbrook in their sad loss. She knows, and alas! they also know, from sad experience, what it is to lose a child, and one who was a help and a comfort to them. That God may help and sustain them and their other children in this hour of deep affliction is the Queen's earnest prayer. She trusts that Lady Cranbrook's health has not suffered from this long and anxious watching.'

The answer was as follows:

June 16.—'Lord and Lady Cranbrook present their humble and grateful duty to your Majesty, and offer their heartfelt thanks for a gracious sympathy so touching, as coming from a heart tried by the deepest sorrow. Lord and Lady Cranbrook have been supported under a heavy trial by the reflection that their son, though taken from them, and from a most useful sphere of duty, has been called to a higher one, to which he could calmly look forward without dread of the dark path by which he must pass to it. They are cheered by the trust that all is well with him, and soothed by memories of his blameless life and peaceful death.

'That your Majesty may yet see many happy days with no renewed sorrow is and will be Lord and Lady Cranbrook's earnest prayer.'

The Diary for the remainder of the year may be much condensed. My dear mother's illness followed in July, and caused the greatest anxiety. She was worn out by the care and anxiety of her long vigil at Lowmoor, but she made a wonderful recovery, and was spared to her family for another sixteen years. Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Bill, which my father detested, was the principal measure of the Session. Dean Stanley, whom my father had met on his return from France in April, had had some conversation with him upon the Bill and upon its author's attitude with reference to it.

S.—'He' (Dean Stanley) 'was on the steamer with me, and forecast Gladstone's mode of dealing with his tergiversations on the Bill of 1881 after his expressions in 1870, and during the interval. He said that he would not admit a change, and if challenged would probably leave the House. That Bill gave us much discussion, and I remember that I said "Not content" quietly, for, though no division was to be taken, I abhorred it. It has only been the precursor of evil, and has not finished its ill work.'

D. July 18.—'The morning papers announce Dean Stanley's death at 66. It will be widely and deeply felt, for he had much about him to fascinate, and his friends were many. One did not look upon him as a Churchman, nor would he have desired it. He aimed at a vague and dim Catholicity which hardly admitted of definition; and all schools and sects were within it. Indeed I doubt if it did not extend beyond Christianity. He was a good converser, shrewd and observant, and, generally, fair. His imagination, in writing, prevailed over accuracy, and a legend was

often dearer to him than truth. He will be missed, for he was a representative man with originality and courage.'

The Session closed in the middle of August after a struggle over the Lords' amendments to the Land Bill, four in number, to which Mr. Gladstone at first refused to agree. The Lords, however, insisted, and he 'discovered, much to the indignation of the Irish members, that most of the Lords' amendments did not affect the principle of the Bill, and Salisbury, dexterously availing himself of this narrowing of the controversy, allowed the Bill to pass' (Low and Sanders, p. 339).

D. August 17.—'I first saw Plunket, who said that we had gained all that we could reasonably expect—had a distinct triumph and stood well with the country. He begged that we would not send the Bill back to the Commons, where there was much explosive material, which Gladstone had calmly damped the night before. He spoke (as did Gibson and Peers who were present) of Gladstone's tone of respect for the Lords, and the good meaning of their amendments, even where he did not accept. On the whole I was confirmed in my impression that we had done as much as we could hope, and had better leave the rest to Ministerial responsibility. This was the view which Salisbury, and Cairns, Waterford, and Abercorn laid before us in Arlington Street, and it was unanimously and cordially concurred in by the large meeting of Peers. We could not make an essentially bad measure good, but we have introduced important modifications, and mitigated landlords' apprehensions. Gladstone considers the Bill not in any degree worse, so he can lay no blame upon us hereafter.'

During the autumn, the Fair Trade movement, as it was then called, had been gaining ground in Lancashire. Lord

Randolph Churchill (see Mr. Winston Churchill's Life, vol. i. p. 290) 'had been urging the Fair Trade Cause with characteristic vigour, and happy irresponsibility.' The progress of the movement gave much anxiety to my father, who was at the time by no means favourable to it. I give a few extracts from the answers he received from Lord Salisbury, Lord Carnarvon, and Sir Stafford Northcote to his suggestions and warnings:

Salisbury to Cranbrook, September 25.

'I hope that the idea of restoring the Corn Laws has not penetrated very far into our ranks. Northcote does not find that even the "Fair Traders" of Sheffield are disposed to go so far. One or two county members of no great note have accepted it, but no person of any position except Churchill and Lowther. John Manners, I presume, is disposed to it for "auld lang syne," but he is not likely to commit himself incautiously. Carnarvon is disposed to take up the cry as a weapon against the people who are trying to make a split between the landlords and tenants, but I shall try to represent the dangers of such a course to him. . . . I think we shall have to agree to a considerable recasting of local taxation, it is the only direction in which the State can legitimately do any good to agriculture.'

Carnarvon to Cranbrook, September 30.

'I have to speak next week at Derby, and am greatly worried as to what I shall say. I cannot make up my mind, and I feel the fatal moment advancing on me. I am told that it is impossible to avoid allusion to Free and Fair trade, and I see the rocks on both sides, but I am very much obliged for your caution, and will do my best to be prudent.'

Northcote to Cranbrook, August 31.

'I speak at Sheffield on Thursday. I shall be as reticent as I can on the Fair Trade business, but must say something. It is very embarrassing. Some of our friends are hot about it, and will be annoyed if they are discouraged. On the other hand, I am sure there are many who would be alarmed, or even alienated, by our taking up anything like Protection. I lay down these canons—

'(1) We must not take up Protection, as Peel did before 1842, and then abandon it.

'(2) We must not commit the Conservatives to taxes on food, or on the raw materials of industry.

'(3) It is open to criticise the manner in which the Commercial Treaties have been made, and still more, to object to binding ourselves without some very good equivalent, such as we are not likely to get.

'(4) There is a case for an enquiry into the working of Foreign Tariffs, and into any possible remedies, and this is what Ritchie moves for next Session.

'Beyond this I have in my own mind a vague idea of a possible readjustment of taxation (local and general), including a moderate import duty for revenue purposes, upon all articles other than food, and raw materials of industry. But such a scheme requires more examination than one can give without official assistance.

'I doubt if our trade is in quite so hopeless a state as some think. Agriculture is down, but must not be relieved by taxes on food, therefore we must look to the reduction of local burdens.'

The Land Bill, that 'message of peace,' brought no cessation of the trouble in Ireland. Mr. Dillon was arrested

in May, and Parnell himself in October, after Mr. Gladstone had declared at Sheffield that the resources of civilisation were not exhausted. The ominous prophecy with which I close the chapter was destined to speedy fulfilment:

D. October 26.—'At present Ireland seems to be under hand, but they must not crow prematurely; the winter is at hand, and they have allowed bands of assassins to organise and work unchecked.'

CHAPTER XXVI

A PAUSE AND AN ILLNESS (1882—1884)

THE Diary for the next two years does not contain much of public interest. One of the opening entries for 1882 comments severely on Lord Derby's definite secession to the Gladstonian party. I will not quote it, as my father afterwards regretted the warmth with which he had expressed himself on the subject. He writes in 1895:

S. 1882.—'I am rather sorry to see some strong remarks in my diary on Derby's going over to Gladstonianism. He is gone, and harsh feeling has gone, too. Still, I feel strongly that he had in office long adopted his party, that Gladstonian policy had been odious to him according to his own statements, and that his secession from our Government was on a ground not affecting general politics. But, after all, he was human, and it may be that his mind was more passionately stirred than appeared without.'

The spring was spent at Biarritz for my mother's health, my father coming over from time to time when required for public meetings, business in the Lords, or consultations with the other leaders of the party, but he disliked his foreign exile and was truly thankful to return to England with his family on April 21. He took the opportunity of revisiting Spain, and made many excursions round Biarritz. His appreciation of the 'Subaltern,' the early work of his late Chaplain-General Gleig, gave great pleasure to the author, and was warmly acknowledged in a grateful letter.

He found a pleasant companion at Biarritz in Mr. T. C. Bruce, afterwards Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

D. January 21.—'In the afternoon I accompanied Bruce and a Mr. Erskine to the "Mayor's House," so well known to readers of the "Subaltern." Its present occupant, a tremendous but interesting talker, was most obliging, and showed us over the ground so as to make us quite understand the position. His father, a Legitimist, was with Sir John Hope when nearly captured, and, as a brother of the then Mayor, of course knew all about the place and has handed on his knowledge to his son. There is a grave of three officers of the Fusilier Guards in the garden. I forget our host's name, but he is evidently like his father, for he had been with the Carlists, serving their artillery, and knew every peak and stream in the adjacent hills. We much enjoyed our afternoon. I have written a note to Mr. Gleig, which I hope he may like, if, as I believe, he still retains his faculties. Our host said the accuracy of description in his book was wonderful, and he had traced all his steps from Spain to Bayonne.'

D. January 27.—'Gleig replies to my letter, and was evidently much pleased with it. He is on the verge of 86, but writes clearly.'

The accident described in the next extract left more permanent effects than he anticipated, and was probably the cause of a very severe attack of gouty neuralgia which disabled him in 1884. He had a narrow escape from worse injuries. Not many sexagenarians would have had the energy to start on the long journey to London immediately after such an experience.

D. February 4.—'I left the bright skies of Biarritz on Thursday soon after mid-day, and was in London at 4

yesterday. I had a bad accident just before starting from La Negresse by stepping backwards into a deep hole opened in the flags by the station. My escape was wonderful, but the shock has made my legs rather stiff, and my right knee is stiff and rather painful. Jane only saw me after I emerged, and went off thinking me no worse. I did not sleep quite as well as I should have done otherwise, but fairly, and the crossing was absolute calmness. I can only be thankful that I am not lying with a broken leg or other injury.'

A portrait of my father by Holl, for which he had given a very large number of sittings, was finished in time for the Academy, but, in spite of the pains taken by the artist, it proved so unsatisfactory that he took it back at his own request, and began another, which gave complete satisfaction to all the family, and remains the most striking and artistic representation of his features which we possess. A copy of this latter portrait was presented by my brother to the Carlton Club, and the original is the frontispiece of Vol. I. It is strange how difficult my father's face was to represent upon canvas. Many artists, of whom Richmond was one, gave up the task in despair.

The sudden *volte-face* by Gladstone in May, known as the 'Kilmainham Treaty,' which caused Mr. Forster's resignation, is the subject of the next extract.

D. May 3.—'There was a good deal of excitement in the House in anticipation of Granville's answer to Salisbury on the new move in Ireland. Forster, it seems, has had to give way, or rather to give place and resign. The three M.P.s are to come out of Kilmainham, and of course the rest will follow. Coercion not to be renewed, legislation on purchase clause, arrears, &c.! A surrender to violence and outrage as usual with the Prime Minister—the destroyer of his country!'

D. May 6.—'Forster's speech on Tuesday was manly and straightforward. Gibson very spirited; Gladstone equivocating more than usual; Hartington's "calmness" not very well veiled passion. The old Cabinet, and one or two more, met at the Carlton yesterday at 11, and there was a great Commons meeting which, I hear, passed quietly and with unanimous agreement upon the course. The Government give Monday for Beach's motion. The situation is perplexing and distressing, for we are powerless, and could not accept office, so that a deadlock would follow a Government defeat. That at present is out of the question, but such an executive must be in constant peril. Goschen spoke seriously to me. He is keenly alive to the dangers of the Ministerial course, but does not see his way. He and his friends will be dragged on.'

D. May 7.—'A note from Salisbury speaking of terrible news troubles me. What does it mean? I have sent to know. He was writing of a letter of Gladstone on clôture, which I rather expected from something I heard yesterday. Richmond comes in with appalling news of the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish, and Burke, yesterday—at 7.10 last evening, in daylight—in the Phœnix Park; both covered with stabs. It thrills one with horror, and will rouse England at last to some idea of the problem to be solved. I pity Gladstone, whose private feelings will be so wounded, for I fancy Cavendish was really dear to him. It is a fearful crime. There must be no debating or talking till all agree upon some calm but resolute action. What a cruel response to clemency!'

D. May 8.—'Everyone's mind, and talk, was full of the horrible murder of Saturday. I left cards at Devonshire House as a mark of sympathy. We had a meeting at Northcote's to talk over Gladstone's communications.

He had, before the murder, sent to propose terms (Gibson's amendment) on the Clôture; which seemed to me a fair compromise. To-day we expect he will adjourn the House, which indeed will be in no humour for debating, but I hope we shall have some indication of firmness. It was said last night that Forster had gone over; but whether reinstated or as locum tenens at present I know not.'

At the urgent request of the party it was settled that I should contest the vacancy in the North-West Riding caused by the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish. This is not my story, but perhaps I may be allowed to say, as the election is alluded to in Lord Morley's 'Life of Gladstone,' vol. iii. p. 68, and the majority commented on, that I am not at all ashamed of the fight I made, or of the reduction of the majority, which was all that was ever hoped for. I should also like to disclaim all responsibility for a poster referred to. I denounced it at the time, and Sir Henry James a year later did me the honour to quote my words on the subject in the debate on his Corrupt Practices Bill. I only mention the incident at all, because I undertook the task as the representative of my father and at his request, and at the urgent desire of the leaders of the party.

D. May 9.—'A note came to me from Northcote, and on coming back I saw Smith and Winn on a proposition that Alfred should fight the North-West Riding against Holden. I am not by any means inclined to such a contest, still less to its costs, as I have not faith in the results.'

D. May 10.—'The die is cast, and Alfred goes down to-day. I met the deputation, Taylor, Fison, Harris, Lord Bective, and others, at the Carlton, and, without much heart in it, agreed to find a certain sum. They did not paint the prospect in glowing colours, but they saw a chance. I fear it is a case of forlorn hope, with the bare

possibility that the breach may be carried. I do a work for the party, and I feel that success would be a good blow struck for the country itself.'

During the hard work of the contest, which resulted in a majority of 2027 for Holden, a reduction of 1651 on the result of the 1880 election, I was much disturbed by receiving no letters from my dear mother. Her loving sympathy was always so certain to be shown to her children at any time of stress, that I returned from the contest apprehensive and anxious. My presentiment was but too well founded. Her trouble of the year before had returned and she was dangerously ill. I will not dwell upon the suspense and anxiety of the next six weeks, but the absence of quotations from the Diary will be readily understood. It is full of the one subject, although public duties were not neglected. It was not until July 9 that thanks were offered at St. Peter's Church, Eaton Square, and at St. George's, Benenden, for my mother's wonderful recovery, and her first drive is recorded on July 10. About this time events in Egypt and Ireland began to rouse comment.

D. July 11.—'In the House we heard from Granville that bombardment would begin at Alexandria at dawn to-day. A grave matter! We read the Crimes Bill a second time. Salisbury spoke sternly, but they wisely did not reply. . . . 9.30. Shouts of the bombardment of Alexandria notify shots fired by the Government of peace! Cyprus is to be a "place d'armes." Indian troops are warned for service, and army reserves also. Had we been the perpetrators!'

D. July 13.—'Returned from Windsor this morning at 10.30. I found the Queen, as usual, kind and interested. Naturally her mind much occupied with what is going on in Egypt and Ireland, the latter of which she thinks the Prime Minister does not or will not understand, or appreciate

the gravity of its condition. The Duchess of Connaught was agreeable and chatty at dinner.'

D. July 18.—'Bright made his statement, but did not explain his delay in resigning, except by his love for Gladstone. The Arrears Bill draws near us, and formidable questions of policy are before us. A small meeting to-morrow is to be followed by a full one on Friday. I am much perplexed.'

D. July 19.—'The meeting at Salisbury's this morning appeared unanimous not to oppose the second reading, but his amendments can hardly fail to wreck it if Gladstone adheres to the determination he has expressed. A joint application is just, and so is the making tenant right an asset, but the Government will hardly accept; Salisbury seemed to think that they might do so. I left him discussing Egypt, to attend the Cathedral Commission, and found light work which was soon over.'

On July 31 he visited his old school, Shrewsbury, to open the new buildings. I never heard any particulars of the fight to which he alludes.

D. July 31.—'I was at the new buildings in plenty of time to get some lunch, before the proceedings opened in a large tent at 3. My address was very well received, though, as usual, I omitted some things which would have made it better. Mr. Moss (the Head Master) was very hospitable, and I was glad to meet some old friends, and my once enemy Price Harrison. He looked hearty after his fifty years, and neither of us the worse or less hearty for our encounter! George May, D. Melville, Sale, Barstow, Humphrey, and others, but few of my generation. The school has been wonderfully successful, with its small numbers, but the

move is altogether to its advantage, and my conservatism does not extend to keeping cramped, dirty, and inefficient quarters, when such a site is available close to the town.'

At this moment the position of the Arrears Bill, and the question of its fate in the Lords, became urgent. Salisbury's amendments had been carried, but rejected by the Commons, who sent back the Bill.

D. August 5.—'Cairns is full of uneasiness about our adherence to the first amendment, and says our friends in the Commons are against us, and that Irish Peers like Abercorn would rather give way; that he himself is not prepared to support Salisbury, so more trouble is in store than I thought. When are we to check bad principles?'

There are many letters preserved in the same strain, which show how many sought his counsel and adherence in this grave crisis. Lord Carnarvon writes (August 5) full of misgivings, but 'really does not know what to advise or do under the circumstances.' Northcote's letter of August 9 gives a picture of the situation in the Commons:

Northcote to Cranbrook.

'MY DEAR CRANBROOK

'I hope you will be at Salisbury's meeting to-morrow. The position is very serious, and I fear there will be much difficulty in finding a way out consistent with his personal sense of what is due to his party and to himself. I own I sympathise warmly with him, and think it very hard that those who attended the former meeting, and did not intimate any dissent, but rather urged him to adhere to such amendments as were agreed on, should now be falling off, and leaving him, like Uriah, in the front of the battle. At the same time there is no blinking the fact that

the House of Commons is absolutely rotten on the question, and, though we got a good vote last night, it was given with the utmost reluctance, out of personal feeling for the leaders of the party, and with a secret confidence that it would lead to nothing further. There will be a great howl here if the Lords send back the Bill to us, and it will be quite impossible to get men to vote again. I am not afraid of what is called a crisis, provided we are at one among ourselves. But if Cairns and Richmond split away from Salisbury, and if the majority in the Lords is greatly reduced, and the minority in the Commons annihilated, we shall be in a terrible position for fighting what must any way be an uphill battle.'

D. August 11.—'Gladstone spoke with moderation, and practically accepted the second amendment, but while altering his words made no real compromise on the first. A note from Northcote convinced me that our friends in the Commons had been more than half-hearted on Tuesday, and, should we send the Bill back, would desert us altogether. I met Crichton on my way to Arlington Street, and he assured me that there were not five who would willingly fight our battle, and Arthur Balfour confirmed this. So we met. Salisbury made a resolute speech, but admitted that Cairns was gone and would not support him, and that he had many communications of a like kind. Carnarvon spoke ambiguously—would vote—but whether willingly did not appear from his words. He stated each side. I, seeing that the feeling of the great majority was clear, said shortly that while holding my view on the Bill, and ready to vote with Salisbury, it seemed to me that the united party, for which he had acted, no longer existed in Lords or Commons, and that it would be disastrous to move on, with a divided

party, to defeat or a bare victory—that he could not carry his point if he would, and that he was clearly not bound in honour to persevere under such changed conditions, when those who asked the pledge relieved themselves; that we should under the circumstances meet the constituencies with no united policy. The Duke of Beaufort followed saying that he felt the force of this, and was the more bound to state it, as at a public meeting he had urged the Lords to adhere to their amendments. Salisbury then asked the Peers to divide, and it was clear at once that nearly all were for acquiescence in the Commons' amendments, and those who would not go against Salisbury on the principle were in favour of his yielding to his own adherents rather than incurring the consequence of showing the party without coherence and union. His speech in the evening is public. He admitted that he was overruled, but renounced for us all responsibility for the measure, and I joined him in saying "not content" without calling for a division. I felt much for Salisbury as I saw that the iron entered into his soul, and, no doubt, he was badly used by being unanimously pressed to one course, and almost as unanimously deserted when the time of trial came. Perhaps the best has happened for him and the party, and he will better understand his position, and take the party into action at the moment when it can be trusted. Amendments seem never to be adhered to, whatever may be previous professions. Irish Peers have again and again failed us when their hearts fail at prospective losses or unpopularity, and as to the Commons the dread of elections, and doubtful seats, break up the body of adherents, who then set to work to weaken the determination of the Lords. Great questions are coming, and we must be called upon for decisions, involving principle and the destiny of the Constitution and the

country. And then—I will not forecast the future, but dread it.'

D. August 13.—'Some of the papers are hard upon Salisbury, but, when one thinks it over, what could he have done? His opinion was so strong upon the right course that he could not avoid stating it, and then he had to justify the absence of action upon it.'

D. August 14.—'Carnarvon writes despondently on politics, and no wonder! I have written at some length upholding Salisbury on the whole.'

The following is the letter from Lord Carnarvon referred to:

'I must write a few lines to ask you, now that the dust and confusion of last Thursday have had time to clear, what your impression of the whole result is. I confess I am very sorry that S. thought it necessary to inform the House that he had been defeated in an actual division in his party to abandon his amendments (*sic*). I am afraid that, on cool reflection, he will find that his task as leader will not be lightened in the future. I am sorry that Cairns went away; his difference of opinion was not disguised by his absence, and he might, as a matter of feeling, put matters on a better footing by staying and speaking. I am sorry also that Richmond made the blunt sort of speech that he did. It tends to shake Salisbury's position, and I think that, whatever may have been the difference of feeling, or even the question (if any one likes so to express it) as to electing S. leader, now that he is in that position it is wise to strengthen his hands in every way. I am sure that you will agree with me in this. I am therefore very sorry for all that happened, part of it in Arlington Street, and part in the House, and I am afraid that we shall reap a great deal

of mischief. There is much soreness on S.'s part, but this is of less consequence if it is only kept to himself. Every leader must be prepared for great disappointment and disasters, whether he deserves or does not deserve them. I cannot help looking to the future, both near and distant, with great anxiety.

'Personally I have almost ceased to care for politics. They have become very distasteful to me, and it is only the feeling of duty, which, so long as I can be of any little service, keeps me to them. But the times are so dangerously dark that no one has a right to retire while health holds out, if he can do any good. Pray let me have a few lines. I write to you, as always, in confidence, and indeed there is hardly any one else to whom I would so write. Northcote comes here to-day, his state of health alarms me. I do not think he is equal to much more hard work.

'Yours most truly,

'CARNARVON.'

The autumn was spent at Westgate-on-Sea. Egyptian affairs occupy public attention, and my elder brother Gathorne was sent out to the seat of war, but arrived too late for active service.

D. September 14.—'Yesterday's evening papers brought us the glad news of Wolseley's complete victory at Tel el Kebir, and it looks as if Arabi's defeat was thorough and decisive; much loss of officers, as was natural for those who led the victorious and decisive charge, but the selection of the dark hours saved much carnage, which must have been caused had our troops been called upon to pass a long space in daylight. Thank God that a prospect of peace is given!'

D. September 16.—'I have written a letter to Her Majesty to congratulate, especially with reference to the Duke of Connaught, and another to Wolseley, as, having been Secretary of State for War, and much associated with him in the Ashanti time, seemed only right. He wants no more troops, and I expect Gathorne will be in and out pretty rapidly.'

Her Majesty sent the following gracious and characteristic answer:

'*Balmoral, September 21, 1882.*

'The Queen thanks Lord Cranbrook warmly for his very kind letter on the occasion of the brilliant and decisive Victory of Tel-el-Kebir & the safety of her beloved child.

'It was a time of terrible anxiety to his young wife and herself, and we are feeling now the reaction, for the uncertainty and suspense from the day of the landing at Alexandria till the news of the victory, and of dear Arthur's safety, were trying in the extreme. If only our dear Lord Beaconsfield could have witnessed this and the occupation of Cairo by the Empress of India's troops, as well as the use made of Cyprus.

'Alas! all this thankfulness and joy, mingled as it must be with deep sorrow for the loss of many and valuable lives, (comparatively small as this was) has been clouded by the death of one of the Queen's best and most valued friends—the last of the old ones—the excellent Dean of Windsor.

'He is an irreparable loss, for the Dean cannot be replaced. It is a very heavy blow to us all.'

Full justice is done to the great services of the Dean of Windsor in Lord Morley's 'Life of Gladstone,' where he is referred to as one of Mr. Gladstone's two or three most important friends. 'I do not scruple to own,' he writes to

Lord Granville, 'that he has been in no small degree a help and guide to me; and as to the Queen, whose heart is, I am sure, at this moment bleeding, I do not believe that she can possibly fill his place as a friendly adviser, either in ecclesiastical or other matters.'

My father records his death and that of another eminent churchman of a different type, Dr. Pusey, on the same day.

D. September 18.—'Dr. Pusey died on Saturday, not an unexpected event. His mantle has to a certain extent been on Liddon's shoulders before this time, and will probably now rest there. He had attained a ripe old age, as he was born in 1800, and had done an enormous amount of work. He always treated me very kindly when we met at the Keble Council. The death of the Dean of Windsor, of whose illness I had not heard, is announced. The Queen, with whom he was a favourite, will feel his loss greatly. He was a manly straightforward person, and, I fancy, had many warm friends.'

D. October 15.—'I had a pleasant note from Wolseley, enclosing one of Arabi's cards for Jane. He speaks highly of the discipline, as well as the courage, of his force.'

Parliament met on October 26. The agitation against the leadership of Sir Stafford Northcote headed by Lord Randolph Churchill was in full swing, and the counsel of the old men, as in the time of Rehoboam, differed from that of the young.

D. October 28.—'Gladstone appears to have been stilted and laboured, though complimented as usual by Northcote. I am afraid he does himself harm with some of his supporters by this line, and indeed I heard much which gave me the impression that the party is not rallying as it ought. Randolph Churchill goes his own way, and is angry if he is not followed, which is unreasonable. W. is always a

frondeur, but on the whole I saw many indications that division, and therefore despondency, prevails. Shooting and hunting keep away some, perhaps not many, but they will soon draw off others, especially unless there is vigour put into the Opposition.'

In November my father visited Yorkshire and addressed large and enthusiastic gatherings at Leeds, and Wakefield. He took the opportunity of defending his leaders, who were 'rather sneered at by one of the speakers, which was very unsuitable.' For this he received the thanks of Sir Stafford Northcote, who had been ordered abroad for his health.

Northcote to Cranbrook, November 20.

'MY DEAR CRANBROOK

'I am to start for the Mediterranean on Saturday morning. So, as I am not likely to see you, I write a line to say good-bye, and at the same time to thank you (as I have been waiting to do in person) for your very kind words in Yorkshire the other day. I have much reason to feel the kindness of all my colleagues, but there is no one towards whom I look with warmer sentiments than yourself. What you were good enough to say has been very highly appreciated. I feel rather like an impostor just now, for I have often felt more ill without giving up, but I have had no rest for a long time, and every little malady fixes viciously upon me; so I am sure Jenner is right in sending me away. I fully hope to be quite up to my work when Parliament meets again. We shall probably have a stiff session, but it will be a curious one if we have it without Gladstone. The rumours of his intention to retire grow stronger, and I do not think that we can entirely discredit them, though I still think that he will find reasons for yet

another delay. Another question which we are asking is, Will Brand continue Speaker? Report says that Dodson is to take his place. If so there will certainly be an opposition to him. We ought not to let the Speakership be treated as an appanage of the Cabinet. Matt. Ridley would be our best candidate, and he might poll a fair number of votes, and take rank as Speaker designate, but Brand ought to hold on and work the new rules for some time at all events.'

D. November 20.—'A letter from the nephew of my old Provost (Hawkins of Oriel) announces his death at the age of ninety-three on Saturday. The papers have eulogistic accounts of his long honest life, and I believe he retained his faculties to the last. He was in his way a very remarkable man, precise and clear in all his thoughts and words. Mellowing with age and getting rid of those sharp angles which fretted those in contact with him in youth.'

He entertained many guests at Hemsted during the autumn; Sir John Fowler, the eminent engineer, lectured on Egypt at the Club, and Sir Bartle Frere, 'a charming companion and a far sighted-statesman in my opinion,' said a few words on the occasion.

D. December 5.—'The Archbishop died at 7 A.M. on Advent Sunday, the fourth anniversary of Mrs. Tait's death. He went peacefully and calmly to his rest.'

S.—'He was a remarkable man, but not always far-seeing, and in late life I think he knew that he had made great mistakes. His tone and temper modified. To me he was always friendly, and talked frankly and openly. On the Cathedral Commission I saw much of him, but I fear we were wrong in taking the line he recommended of framing Statutes. No good has come of it, and our labour,

so far as I can judge, was vain. Harvey Goodwin (Bishop of Carlisle) made many efforts to pass a Bill, but it never got through the Commons. Benson became Archbishop, and is valued by us as such, and as a friend which he has shown himself.' On December 8 he attended his funeral in a snow-storm.

D. December 9.—'There was a great muster of clerics, and many lay, but the numbers were no doubt much curtailed by the inclement air, and those who stood in the churchyard must have felt the air above and below. The Dukes of Connaught and Albany were present, and Royalty was generally represented by separate officials.'

I may pass rapidly over 1883, not an eventful year in my father's life.

D. February 5, 1883.—'The Carlton and London will miss a familiar figure, as Edward Taylor died in his sister's house on Saturday. It would seem that he was anticipating taking part in public meetings to-day and to-morrow, when a succession of fits carried him off. Through him, I believe, I first got into Parliament, and he was a steady friend. He had much good judgment, and felt the party pulse with much accuracy, and his heart was in a Whip's work even to the last. . . . He has been taken from trying times, especially in his own country, torn and harassed as it has been and will be.'

D. April 3.—'Randolph Churchill's letter, insulting Northcote and his friends, has made some stir. Northcote, whom I met riding, was very calm about the matter, but I imagine that his cause will be taken up by his friends, and Salisbury will be no party to the invidious position to which he is summoned. There will be heat as well as smoke before all is done.'

[See the correspondence in Lord Randolph Churchill's Life, vol. i. p. 234.]

D. May 25.—'Just come back on a lovely morning from Knebworth. We had dry, but cloudy and not warm, weather there. The place is nicer than I expected, and with too many beasts, busts, &c., the gardens are pleasant; and the house, with all its faults of bastard Gothic, is stately outside and comfortable within. I had a room in which Elizabeth slept in 1588 "the year memorable for the defeat of the Spaniards," as a Latin inscription tells. We (Evelyn and I) went down on Friday evening with Lady Dorothy Nevill and Sir Ashley Eden, and the dinner party was enlarged by neighbours. On Saturday the Salisburys brought Venables, Henry Manners (the present Duke of Rutland) and his wife, Hope and his daughter Bride, to lunch, and we had a strolling and pleasant afternoon. I am afraid that John Manners is suffering from his rash attempt to vote on the Affirmation Bill. The Stanhopes and two children, Mr. Knowles of the *Nineteenth Century*, and Mr. Mallock, were the additional guests in the evening, and the two latter certainly gave us a good deal to talk about with them. On the whole their opinions are doubtful on grave questions, but they are able and not overbearing. Lady Dorothy was very amusing as usual, the children nice.'

On June 9 he opened the Harold Club at Lowmoor founded in memory of my brother, his youngest son.

D. June 11.—'We have just got back from our visit to Lowmoor. On Saturday we drove down to the Club round which a large concourse had assembled, and I went through the formal ceremony of opening in a very few words, and received with a short acknowledgment a really magnificent gold key, which will be a worthy memorial of the occasion.

We surveyed, and were pleased with, the Club arrangements, and the work generally, and so far as we could judge, it is well adapted to its object. The speeches were generally concise, and to the point, and genial. Mine was well taken, and I only wish that I had said what was in my heart of Charles and my father, but there was so much laudation of the family that I passed over the matter. The day brings solemn memories, but they should not be unhappy ones.'

August and September were spent at Strathgarve, a beautiful place in Ross-shire, which he had rented for the season. All the family visited it during his tenancy, and I can confirm what appears in a letter from my mother that it was a 'sweet rest and joy' to us. She continues (September 27) in a letter to my father:

'Tolmie (the keeper) says he never met such a gentleman in his life—that it is happy for any servant to be under him. I said: "Fancy the happiness and blessedness of being for 45 years ever with him!"'

It was wonderful to see him walking day after day over the hills and enjoying the sport with all the zest of a schoolboy, in spite of his sixty-eight years. He visited Braemore, Sir John Fowler's beautiful forest, and had a long day's stalking in the rain. 'I was surprised at my endurance and power of walking, but was tired in the evening.' After a pleasant visit to Glamis Castle, whose genial owner Lord Strathmore was always a warm friend, he returned to Hemsted early in October. He attended the Conference of Conservative Associations at Birmingham, and addressed a great meeting at Aston.

He had previously received a letter from Sir Stafford Northcote (September 26), from which I quote the following extracts:

'I see it stated that you are to attend the Conference of the National Union next week. In case you really are going, I venture to ask you to use your influence quietly to prevent anything foolish being done by the fourth party. I am told that Churchill and Gorst have issued a confidential circular to the delegates who are likely to attend, asking them to vote for a particular list of names for the Council of the Union, and it is supposed that their object is to obtain a command over the majority of the Council and to use it as an instrument for influencing and directing the policy of the whole party. Now, if they do this, they will soon produce a strong feeling against themselves among our steadiest supporters, and are pretty sure either to damage the Union itself, or split the party—if you attend you may be able to give our friends a hint that the Union should not push its pretensions too far, or allow its Council to set up as a representative body entitled to speak and act in the name and on behalf of the Conservative party as a whole. There should be a few steady men upon it who can be trusted to stop the vagaries of the less discreet.'

D. October 4.—'On Monday afternoon to Aston for the great meeting. A baddish banquet preceded it, and the interval was dreary, as there was no place to sit down, and outside there was cold and crowd. However, we got to work at last. I do not know how far in the vast assemblage I was heard, but I had an attentive and appreciative audience as far as I could judge. The room was too long to be good for the purpose of such a gathering. We spent the day (Tuesday) in Birmingham at the Conference. Randolph Churchill, and Gorst, meant mischief, but, I hope, have not effected it.'

The year 1884 began with an astute move by Lord

Randolph and his supporters. Sir Stafford Northcote writes on January 4:

'You asked me to let you know how matters went on with the National Union. I found that Salisbury had received a formal request from Randolph Churchill, addressed to him as "leader of the Conservative party," to confer with him as to the mode of giving effect to the Birmingham resolutions of which you are cognisant. He had replied "that he should be happy to confer with them on any matter of interest to the party, but that, as it appeared that this was a question affecting the House of Commons as much as the House of Lords, he thought the leader of the House of Commons should be also present." Of this hint they had taken no notice, but had thanked him for offering to receive them, and pressed for an early day.'

D. January 5, 1884.—'Northcote writes me a curious account of Randolph Churchill's Birmingham intrigues, and seems to suspect that he is secretly moving the Primrose League, whatever that society may be, or contemplate. His coadjutors of the National Union have turned Percy out, and put him in the Chair, and addressed Salisbury as Leader of the party. The Leadership being in suspense, who are those who presume to settle it? I have always felt that one is better than two; but accepted loyally the decision which constituted the present state of things, and always feel that Northcote has done his duty in substance on all occasions, though not without some weaknesses. Much I fear that disunion will destroy our chance of checking the revolutionary race which Gladstone has started, and Chamberlain will run.'

My father was by this time already beginning to suffer from the very serious and painful neuralgic attack which

gave us all much anxiety. It interfered with his rest; and he was generally a wonderful sleeper! He fought gallantly against it, but soon became unable to take an active part in politics for a time.

D. February 5.—'Salisbury's dinner was on a grand scale, and plenty of talk went on. The Speech did not commend itself to us by its composition or contents, twaddly on foreign affairs, obscure on Egypt—franchise alone, as no mention of redistribution made. 10.15 P.M.—We had a meeting at Arlington Street to talk over the Speech, but only the Commons' amendment on Egypt was really in question, and that has had a terrible collapse this evening by a snap division. The Government put no one up, and have got their way by 77 to 20, but I hope a just vengeance will be taken on such unworthy tactics, so insulting to an honest open Opposition. In our House only Salisbury, and he not at his best, spoke. Poor Baker Pacha's disaster came in, but he made little use of it, and hardly dwelt on the wrong of risking Gordon's noble life. Granville admitted that advice meant imperative orders, and so the responsibility follows. No one else spoke, though I was much inclined to. We must have it out some day.'

A vote of censure was moved in both Houses on the Government policy in Egypt. My father spoke, although records of medical consultations, and acute pain in the right shoulder and arm, occur immediately before and after the next extract.

D. February 12.—'Our Lords debate on Egypt ended of course in a large majority for us. I thought the Ministers heavy, and never heard Granville speak so inefficiently. As I came late it was no time for quotation, so I renounced notes and replied upon Derby and Selborne, and was warmly cheered by my own side and got a very attentive

hearing from my opponents. Derby was cold, cheerless, and balancing, as usual—I could not help giving him a touch or two.'

D. February 17.—'At the Club in the afternoon I was disheartened at the report brought by so many of the state of our party in the House of Commons. . . . There is clearly a move against Sir Stafford, which may have dangerous effects. There will be an attempt to make Salisbury sole leader, but how, I do not at present see. John Manners would clearly be an acceptable Commons leader, but he would never allow himself to be used against Northcote. He is far too chivalrous. I fear Northcote's weakness may come from failing health.'

D. February 29.—'Gladstone brought in a big Reform Bill last night. Will it get through the House of Commons? It ought not *alone* to pass the Lords. Pure Democracy, unbalanced by property. Ireland included, and as far as the Arch Innovator goes, to keep all her members! This comes when war is going on on the Red Sea, Irish American dynamiters trying their deadly implements at three railway stations at least, Ireland thoroughly disaffected, and no call for change.'

D. March 5.—'I went down at 6.20 to Windsor, where was a large dinner party. I kept up wonderfully till bedtime, but had a baddish night, and feel tired this lovely morning. Still I shall go to the Wellington College meeting. It does not do to give up; still, I wonder if I am rightly treated. The Queen was wonderfully well, and as gracious as ever, "rather wished I was in the House of Commons, where more fire was wanted, but knew why I was not."'

D. April 24.—'I must not omit the Earthquake of Tuesday, which for England has been of unusual force.

Colchester and the neighbourhood have suffered severely, and I fear that this inclement weather must tell upon the occupiers of roofless, windowless houses. We live in such security from such catastrophes that it is well we should feel the possibility. It is strange, but providential doubtless, that no life was lost, and, so far as I see, no cases of great personal injury.'

From February to July he was compelled to lead an invalid life. He did all he could to conceal his torture from my mother and ourselves, but we could not but be anxious, and apprehensive, lest he should never completely regain his old condition of magnificent physical and mental strength. But he was to be spared to us for twenty years, and during ten of them to hold high office, and occupy a leading position in the councils of the party. This year, 1884, and the last two years of his life were the only ones in which he was unable to shoot, and enjoy the sport. He tried different doctors and all sorts of remedies: galvanism, salt baths—I will not exhaust the list. But though there are records of 'intense pain' 'terrible day' 'anguish' he displays even in his Diary a sweet patience through it all; once or twice a longing for the arena is expressed as on April 20 when a short respite gave hope of recovery, 'I was looking forward so cheerfully to active life again, but with those pains, though otherwise so well, what can one do?' On May 6, after a week of bed, the remedies prescribed are 'no going out, no active life, alas! One wants so to be in the stir.' He was at Malvern for baths from May 15 to June 17. He had many visitors, among them Lord Salisbury 'very friendly and hearty,' and Count Piper. 'He told me Waddington said our Government was much more easy to deal with, as we know our minds, whereas this Government was always waiting to see what accident might rescue them from difficulties.'

D. June 22.—'I seem to have passed a strange spring,

seeing nothing and few people, but there is much kindness evinced by those who visit me. Richmond, much better for Homburg, sat long with me yesterday, so did W. H. Smith, and Mowbray, and much political talk ensued. Smith seemed to think a dissolution not distant. I doubt.'

Reluctantly, and without much hope of a favourable result, he accepted his doctor's orders to try a 'cure' at Marienbad. 'Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?' I hold no brief for Marienbad, but certainly in my father's case it worked a miracle of healing. He started on June 23 a cripple, sleeping badly, and racked with constant and acute pain. In two days he was walking about, and by July 18, when he left for Nuremberg, he was really a new man and ready for the struggles and fatigues of the Autumn Session. He never had any return of his complaint, and was able to resume his accustomed activity. On August 20, with a thankful heart, he writes 'Home at last, and what a loving welcome awaited us!'

CHAPTER XXVII

THE FALL OF THE GLADSTONE ADMINISTRATION

LORD CRANBROOK spent his Autumn holiday very quietly and happily at Hemsted. Although forbidden by the doctors to shoot, he took plenty of exercise, and rode nearly every afternoon. He amused himself also by writing a good deal, and several of his political squibs found their way into print in different papers. On October 21 he came up for the meeting of Parliament. His attitude on the compromise which led to the passing of the Reform Bill will appear in the record of his reflections. The biographers of Gladstone and Lord Granville have narrated the history of the compromise in detail, and acknowledged how much its success was owing to the prudent counsels of Her Majesty; the same writers also show that Mr. Gladstone's original course, which he was compelled practically to abandon, did not commend itself from the outset to some of his most important colleagues—Lord Hartington especially objecting to the separation of Franchise extension from Redistribution.

D. October 22, 1884.—'I presided at the Constitutional Union dinner, where there was a good muster of very intelligent men. I was nervous, and having arranged my design, departed from it, and I am afraid did not put my argument as I should have done. However, my audience was warm and cordial. It is long since I have been ignorant of the Queen's Speech on the eve of the Parliamentary meeting, but there is no dinner, and no invitation to any assembly of former

colleagues. Salisbury made a great speech at Dumfries last night to an enthusiastic audience, but was stoned outside! happily without any injury to person though much to windows.'

He notes the shifting of seats in the Cabinet, and comments doubtfully upon the position assigned to Mr., afterwards Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who had not yet given earnest of the qualities which eventually advanced him to the position of Prime Minister. 'Campbell-Bannerman is not without capacity, but mostly as a quiet worker. I very much doubt his aptitude for the special duties of Irish Secretary.'

D. October 23.—'There was a gathering of old Cabinet members at Arlington Street, and I was warmly welcomed by all. The Speech was short and omitted much. Egypt, the Transvaal and franchise the chief contents. I walked away with Smith and Carnarvon and found the latter in his usual balancing mood, full of the difficulties and doubts and dangers, anxious for arrangement, yet seeing his way to none. At the House it became clear to me that Richmond, and Cairns, were very keen for compromise, but not for less than our end—a complete measure. Cairns discussed with me his plan, which would be almost a security, but not quite. A second reading—suspense until the Redistribution Bill was in the Lords—and then completion of the former measure. As it is not probable that the Lords would, or could, do much in altering the latter this might do, but if they did make serious changes they would be compelled to yield. Argyll in the discussion took up the pith of Gladstone on disestablishment, published today—"in omnibus caritas," and said, "why not apply it to the State?" With all this in the air possibly something

may be done, but I am not sanguine. The production of the Redistribution Bill would open the door. . . . Northcote told me that the "Highest Person" had, I think by Ponsonby, suggested an *impartial* committee to settle redistribution, to be selected by the leaders. Hardly within measurable distance!'

The next entry refers to a story of Cardinal Newman given in Lord Malmesbury's reminiscences. I insert it for the reference to old college days, in which he vindicates Newman's firmness against Lord Malmesbury's incorrect recollections. I quote from Lord Malmesbury's 'Recollections of an Ex-Minister,' vol. i. p. 18, the passage in which he refers to Cardinal Newman:

'Of this last celebrated writer and divine, and now a Cardinal, no one at the time would have predicted the future career. He used to allow his class to torment him with the most helpless resignation; every kind of mischievous trick was, to our shame, played upon him, such as cutting his bell rope, and at lectures making the table advance gradually till he was jammed in a corner. He remained quite impassive and painfully tolerant. I once *nearly saw* him driven from Copleston's table, when the Provost, who was an epicure, upbraided him for what he called "mutilating" a fine haunch of venison, and shouted out "Mr. Newman! you are unconscious of the mischief you have done!"'

D. October 28.—'Newman has been moved to enter the Blachford controversy with Malmesbury, and I daresay the latter has imputed weakness to him, of which he was by no means guilty. The story current when I went up to Oriel of the destruction of his bell showed him to be determined, and even obstinate. He admits the bell, but not the particulars. I never heard, till I read Malmesbury, of his

being insulted at lecture. Blachford showed me a petition addressed to the Cardinal when Dean, of which I was a signatory, for better meat and cooking. Most of my Oriel friend's names were there, and it was expressed very respectfully. It gives a pretty good list of the College in 1833 or 1834. Woolcombe—not Ryder—J. B. Mozley, Evans, &c.'

He visited Benson, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, at Addington.

D. November 5.—'A foggy morning, but I am now looking out upon the lawn of grass, which sweeps up to the trees with their varied hues again under a blue sky. The Bishop of Peterborough, fairly well, though not with the vigour of body which he once had, is here, and full of anecdote and amusing as ever. His remark on Knox Little, not "vox et præterea nihil" but "Knox et præterea Little," amused us.'

D. November 6.—'Fawcett's death was to-day announced, a very sad event, and one that will be felt by Conservatives as the loss of a fair and honest opponent. He had great merits, and his resolute victory over his infirmity (blindness) commanded respect.'

D. November 12.—'The Franchise Bill was rushed through on Monday, and no doubt read a third time last night. Soft words! but no sign of compromise. If I understand Gladstone and Granville, they want a concordat, on principle and some details, before they produce a Redistribution Bill, and that in any case not before the Franchise Bill is passed, as it is not in any case to be dependent on it. This is absurd, and leaves us no alternative but to act as before, or in the same spirit.'

On the same day he records the somewhat unexpected death of his sister Mary Ann, the youngest but one of the five maiden sisters who kept house together in Portland Place after my Grandfather's death. I well remember her

little grave slim figure, and her unfailing kindness. The 'infirmity' my father alludes to was a slight impediment in her speech.

D. November 12.—'One can hardly think all real. The dear uncomplaining, unselfish child and woman gone from us! always with the childlike spirit about her, she never grew old. Hers was a faith that worked by love; a simple trust, now, one feels sure, amply justified. God comfort those to whom she has been a precious companion and friend. She will live in my memory as ever the young sister so helpful to all from infancy, in spite of her infirmity.'

Her funeral kept my father from a meeting in London at the Carlton Club to consider the negotiations on the Reform Bill.

Lord Salisbury writes:

'*November 18.*

'We lamented greatly the necessity for your absence, and the cause of it—for we never needed counsel more. On the whole we came to the conclusion that we could not safely refuse to enter into negotiations to which the Government invite us. We pledge ourselves to nothing until the result of them is ascertained. If we had taken the other course we should have gone to a dissolution very heavily weighted. The Carlton meeting was practically unanimous, and many indications tended to prove that the ice was cracking all round us, and that we should have led the party to great disaster if we had declined to negotiate. Of course if the Government prove to be impracticable and we cannot get a Bill we can put up with, we remain in the same position, and would throw the Bill over till the spring.'

D. November 19.—'I have a note from Salisbury, and his speech of last night is in the *Globe*. The Conservative

meeting in the morning seems to have been practically unanimous to enter into negotiations with the Government, and it would have been impossible for Salisbury, had he wished it, to lead a united force to battle. He tells me that no pledges have been given; but if negotiations fail it is clear that we cannot be where we were. Our issue was clear, just, distinct: but a difference on even a principle of redistribution will never rally all our men, or be made of vital interest to the country. We have yielded much, but we may lose more. At the same time there was obviously no alternative but to make an effort to bring matters to a conclusion, and it will most likely succeed. I ought to have been there. The Queen has, no doubt, been active, and I hear that Chamberlain was anxious for a settlement.'

D. November 21.—'I saw at the Carlton a good many political friends. None doubt the necessity for the arrangement, for, had it been refused, there would have been disunion. Indeed I gather from Richmond that he saw Granville before it, and made clear to him our *bona fides* in the desire to complete the work that was begun, and that there was no *arrière pensée*. This was done with Salisbury's assent, on the understanding that no engagement of any kind was made. The Government dreaded an election in Ireland, and professed sincerity in their determination to get on with redistribution.'

D. November 29.—'Called on Salisbury, who was rather excited, I thought. All had gone smoothly when he suddenly found that the Government would not undertake to stand by the University seats, which he could not possibly give up. They must yield on such a point, but the raising it shows how the Radical mind is working. I am most doubtful about the scheme, which is perilously like electoral districts, but there appears to have been a strong

Conservative (?) current towards one-member constituencies and the test of population. Dark days are I fear before us. I am not sure that dissensions will not spring up which will endanger, if not destroy, the Bill. And then? For my own part I feel that I must support, or at least not oppose what is arranged, though from circumstances I have been no party to it.'

D. December 1.—'Salisbury writes that the Government gave way about Universities, but wished the concession not talked of at present! I suppose they have held out other hopes, but it cannot long be concealed. The scheme is vast, and I can only express doubts as to its permanent working. It is a bar to compromises, and will thoroughly divide into two camps, if not at first, soon.'

D. December 3.—'The meeting at the Carlton, for which I went up to town yesterday, was well attended, but there was no enthusiasm, and, I suppose, not much curiosity, as the statement of Gladstone had revealed the scheme of redistribution. It is a revolution, and I cannot say I am taken with it, but perhaps it was the best that our representatives on the Council could effect. The Franchise given, a great change was inevitable, but this goes far towards electoral districts, and I do not feel confident that divisions of towns are likely to make choice of fit persons, but it is such a *bouleversement* that one needs time to think it over, and it will be curious to see how the country takes it. I met Sir Henry Maine, who was very gloomy over it, and he told me that Goschen was quite cast down about it. What has he done however to help anything better? I fancy they are under the impression that our Chiefs made the measure more Radical, but Salisbury said the rumours of what they had done were as far from the truth as they could be. I think he was wrong in saying that "his friends were as

free as air, though the parties to the compact were not"; but surely our party gave the Commission and the confidence, and cannot throw over its trustees.'

Mr. J. W. Henley, to whose death the next entry refers, was one of the only survivors of the Derby administration of 1858 in which my father was Under-Secretary for the Home Department.

D. December 10.—'The papers report Henley's death at 91. He has long been bed-ridden, and very deaf; so I should imagine the change a release. He was an honest man, earnest in his way, with little sympathy for novelties, and yet at times almost radical in his desire for change. He was a destructive critic, and was well described by Lord Eversley as "a real property attorney spoilt." He would have tested a title—thoroughly! As for construction, he was incapable of it, and in moving amendments never thought of their results upon the measure in hand, but only of the change of some point obnoxious to him. Sense or nonsense, he pressed them on, saying it was for the promoters to take care of the meaning of their Bill. To me he was always friendly, and I was glad to do a good turn to his son, a very able Poor Law Inspector, and now selected as a Boundary Commissioner. Henley would not have been a good official, and was at his best in opposition. He and his son-in-law, Denison, got on together admirably, and had the same taste for novels, trashy or otherwise, which they read nightly before bed.'

D. December 31.—'The year is going out like old age—still—grave—but mirth prevails within the house. To me the year has been a novelty with its call for watchfulness over my health; which, however, has been good if I exclude the point of pain. The grandchildren are a treat to us,

and, with all their joyousness, good and obedient. So, for domestic life, one is thankful for the present, hopeful for the future:—I wish the political sky was as clear. With Liddon, one must look to the Providence which has guided the nation hitherto, to steer our course safely through storm and calm.'

1885 commenced with a hard frost. My father left England, with my eldest brother and his wife, early in February for a tour in the West Indies which he greatly enjoyed. He kept a separate journal of his trip, but it would interest only his near relations. There are a few entries before his start which show how much his thoughts were directed to Egypt, where the desert column was pressing forward, too late, to attempt the rescue of Gordon, but he started on the 2nd and so escaped for a time the sad news of the fall of Khartoum, and the death of its heroic defender, which did not reach England till the 5th.

D. January 23.—'Sir Herbert Stewart's desperate fight with the Mahdi's troops cannot be read without grief for the officers and men who have fallen, no doubt the élite among the gallant little band. Burnaby would probably have chosen such a death. There must be many sore hearts at home. Nor can the slaughter of so many brave enemies be looked upon but with sorrow, for might it not have been avoided by timely action, and what is to be gained by the double bloodshed?'

D. January 29.—'The good news has come, but not unchequered, as Stewart is severely wounded' (he died of his wounds almost immediately). 'We are, however, in communication with Gordon, and that is satisfactory. The telegram, though long, is not as clear as it might be. Metemmeh remains, so far as I can judge, in the hands

of the Mahdi's troops, but Wolseley speaks of our position as safe from any force. It is evident that we have a brave enemy to encounter, but that the charm of the Mahdi will vanish with defeat. The report this afternoon is that Stewart goes on well; but one cannot but be apprehensive of a severe wound in such a climate. The *Standard* correspondent, as well as that of the *Morning Post*, fell on the 19th, when the fire must have been very trying to our men, who could not see the foe. Such gallant fellows as Cameron and Herbert deserve a soldier's meed, though wielding only the pen, and needing a calmer bravery than if armed with other weapons.'

The time of his absence was a time of crisis both in foreign and domestic politics, when there was much dissension in the Liberal ranks. A letter from one of his valued friends and ex-colleagues, Mr. David Plunket (now Lord Rathmore), gives a vivid account of the situation.

'*February 28, 1885.*

'MY DEAR CRANBROOK

'Your son has just told me that you were quite "fit" again, which I was most glad to hear, and also that you would like to have a line from one of your associates in politics, on the present situation. So I said that I would write to you to catch the mail of to-day, and I have put off doing so until the last moment, hoping to hear the result of the Cabinet council which has been sitting all day over their misfortunes of last night, but no news has yet leaked out.' (See Morley's 'Gladstone,' vol. iii. book viii. p. 176—the occasion was a vote of censure moved by Sir Stafford Northcote on the Egyptian policy of the Government, when the Government majority sank to 14.) 'My impression is that many of the Cabinet would gladly

end their troubles by an immediate resignation, and that, whether these have their way to-day or later, I do not think the present Government can go on much further without a smash, either by internal combustion, or by adverse vote. Most of us feel that to take office under existing circumstances would be an act of patriotic self-sacrifice far exceeding that of Curtius. But, as things are going now, it may be forced upon us very soon. Some —of whom I think is Salisbury—with high courage, hope that we could make a good business of it. Winn says that we should get a good majority if we dissolved at once on the present constituencies, to me even that seems too good to be true. But can we so dissolve? You will see this point put rather well at the end of the second leader in this day's *Times*, which I suppose will somehow reach you. Gladstone looks very ill, and is, I hear, going in his memory. The only notable features in the late debate were a very able speech for us from Gibson, and two very strong and unmerciful ones from Courtney and Forster in our House; and in yours a first-rate oration by Salisbury, and a most promising one from Lord Harris, the cricketer! Second post just going and still no news from Downing Street.

'Yours ever,

'D. PLUNKET.

'P.S.—A report, I believe reliable, has just come in here that the Cabinet has determined to go on as if nothing had happened.'

Lord Morley relates ('Gladstone,' book viii. p. 176) how in the Cabinet the numbers for and against resignation were equal until Mr. Gladstone spoke, and determined the issue in favour of remaining on, at least until the

Seats Bill was through. 'In spite of his incessant sighs for a hermit's calm, he was always for fighting out every position to the last trench.' My father returned to London on April 11.

D. April 13.—'With a thankful heart I record all well here when we arrived. The West Indian trip is chronicled in a separate book taking in the period between February 2 and April 12, and it was without a drawback. Death has been busy at home, but we are passed over—Cairns, Lady Selborne, the Bishop of Lincoln, and others less notable gone! Much bloodshed among our people near Suakim—much blame for unwatchfulness. Russia still edging on—deceiving still the credulous head of the Ministry and by delay strengthening herself and weakening us. A rebellion in Canada, disastrous arrangements in Egypt, but of course this Heaven-sent Government is not to blame.'

He felt deeply the death of Lord Cairns, one of his oldest and truest friends. He was just in time to hear the eulogies passed upon him in the House of Lords.

D. April 15.—'In the Lords I was warmly welcomed by the few there, and just got in time for the just eulogies on Cairns. Selborne wrote, and Granville, with a few words, read the letter. Salisbury was excellent in his tone and expressions. . . . Ah! How Cairns's wisdom is now spoken of, when we can profit by it no more!'

D. April 19.—'Primrose Day was much observed yesterday, and I hear that the statue was draped in flowers, while vast quantities were strewn at the base. It is a singular tribute to a great name, and I fancy feeling is stimulated by the terrible contrast presented now. How we want a man!'

D. April 21.—'Dined pleasantly at Grillion's in the Chair; Paget, Cross, Matthew Arnold, Dalhousie, Plunket, Dilke, Forster, Sherbrooke, Norton. The Monday before Gladstone had dined alone! "Faithful among the faithless only he," so he described himself. His further quotation, of the mind "making for itself a hell of heaven, and heaven of hell," did not say in which mood he was!'

D. April 22.—'At the House we learned that all is to be prepared for war—£11,000,000 asked—the Soudan abandoned; for the future return there is less than problematical. I said a few words, calling for a policy on that matter, leaving Russia, as Lumsden's report was to be given. All these matters need much thought, and I did not commit myself, Salisbury was away in Wales. One thing is clear, that the Mahdi triumphs all along the line—and that Arabs that have helped us are deserted, except close to Suakim.'

D. April 29.—'Gladstone's speech on Monday seems to have been fine, and its tone warlike. His attack on the past Government was out of place, and might well have provoked reply, but it was dignified to pass it by for the present, and show unanimity in voting the means for war, if needful. That question remains in abeyance—and truthful intelligence is rare—rumours rife.'

D. May 12.—'In the House Argyll moved for the Gortchakoff Circular of 1869, and argued that it gave notice of all that has happened, so that there has been no Russian perfidy, but he omitted the intervening promises made by that wily old man, the Emperor, and Schouvaloff. But what does it all matter? Suppose advance inevitable, as the forward party have urged, the more should we have prepared and laid down our barriers where needed. The speech was interrupted by a scream from Lord Dormer,

who fell down in an epileptic fit, and after some minutes the House was adjourned, and the debate will go on to-night. I asked Argyll what his conclusion would be. He said, Reliance on ourselves, and even a scientific frontier!'

D. May 13.—'The debate was continued last evening, and I followed Argyll, of whose conclusions I thoroughly approved. I sedulously abstained in the presence of a pressing danger from all partisan expressions, reserving my views of what the Government had done or left undone. My few words were well received, and appeared to suit the temper of the House. Kimberley followed, and announced complete agreement, and told what he had done and was doing, and if he perseveres, the present troubles may lead to permanent advantages, but his plans may be too late—English officers are in Herat, and I hope instructing the Governor how to fortify. At the beginning of the evening Salisbury made a personal explanation of the way in which he had used the words "swindler and bankrupt," but nevertheless he was rash in joining them to his argument. Granville made an angry reply, most irregularly attacking Randolph Churchill's speech—which might have been left to his colleagues in the House of Commons. I feared the calm discussion on Argyll would have been changed, and threw in a few moderate words.'

This year, 1885, was one of great agricultural depression. In Kent farm rents had to be largely reduced; and the following extract shows that the same cause was affecting ecclesiastical and charitable institutions dependent upon agricultural land.

D. May 14.—'Our meeting at the Charterhouse was depressing, as reduction of rent allowances, and improvements, run away with our funds. For 289 acres in Essex

we cannot get any rent, as the tithe is £100, and that is all the tenant can pay. Many like cases in kind, though not quite in degree. A Committee is to try to solve the future problems for us. Evelyn and I dined at Lambeth—the Gladstones there. He was most polite to me, and Mrs. Gladstone even confidential, not, however, without "pumping" in her pity for Northcote—I rather chaffed than replied. There were some Siamese princes and grandees, of whom Evelyn had the charge at dinner. I ought to note Mrs. Gladstone's foundation of Gladstone's health and strength. At 22 he vowed he would not be put out at failure—doing his best—would never think in bed of subjects on his mind—devote himself to *one subject* at a time, and he has always had a good conscience.'

On the following day he visited Doncaster and addressed a great meeting in support of my candidature—I was at that time contesting the Doncaster division of Yorkshire. The town had formed part of his circuit when at the Bar.

D. May 16.—'A journey to and from Doncaster, a dinner among strange but friendly faces, a great concourse listening intently with a sprinkling of noisy disaffection! sleep in a strange place, and strangers supplying breakfast, make up incidents which lengthen the twenty-four hours' absence to I know not what extent! I suppose I had not been to Doncaster for more than thirty years, and yet when I found myself in the Angel it seemed no great period since I had been there last. None of the faces of those I used to know there greeted me, but sons or descendants who bore the same names. At the Corn Exchange a large audience was gathered, not so quick and keen as Bradford or Leeds audiences, but evidently taking up points steadily,

and in the main of one mind. There was a small body of organised interrupters, but I got through them pretty well. With Raikes, however, they grew worse, and were clearly bent on bothering Alfred. I am not sure that he was right in calling for the expulsion of a leader, as it unsettled everything, and the meeting hardly settled down well again.'

I insert the following extract for its allusion to Gladstone's threatened retirement.

D. May 19. — 'Lord Randolph exposed Gladstone's statement about the agreement which did not exist with great force, and, from Goschen's account to me, Gladstone was much excited. Did he really mean that weeks or months are to end his political career, or was the expectation of life in an old man what he meant?'

However, it turned out that the end of his present tenure of office was soon to come. On June 26 the Government was defeated by a majority of 12 (264 to 252), on an amendment to the Budget moved by Sir Michael Hicks Beach. The points raised by it were of small importance—the increased duty on beer and spirits without a corresponding duty on wine, and the increase in the duty on real property without any relief being given to rates. But the Government, torn by internal dissensions, clutched eagerly at the opportunity for resignation, which some thought they had sought and connived at. It will be seen that Lord Cranbrook only concurred in the resolution of his party to accept office reluctantly and from a sense of duty to the Queen. As Mr. Plunket had written in the letter previously quoted, 'to take office was an act of patriotic self-sacrifice far exceeding that of Curtius.' A full account of the progress of the crisis appears in Morley's 'Life of Gladstone,' vol. iii. chap. xii. Two causes led to delay

and doubt: (1) Lord Randolph Churchill's determination to put an end to Sir Stafford Northcote's leadership of the House of Commons; (2) the necessity for obtaining some assurance from the responsible leaders of the Opposition that supply would be facilitated, and the new Government permitted to wind up the session without hindrance. An immediate dissolution—the ordinary resource of a party forced to take office when in a minority—was really impossible, as the new electorate created by the Reform Bill had not yet come into existence, and the old one was practically superseded. My father's Diary throws much light on the events of that anxious fortnight. The passages, which I give with very few omissions, should be compared with the narrative as it appears in Lord Morley's book.

D. June 9.—'What will happen on Beach's victory over the Government in what they call "life and death"? They must make a semblance of resignation, and some will probably feel relief in the opportunity of getting out, so that complete reconstruction will be difficult. What can we do? The difficulties in our path are enormous, if not insurmountable.'

D. June 10.—'After my ride and talk with Northcote and others, I am confirmed in my original notion that Chamberlain and Dilke have been at the bottom of the default| which gave Beach his victory. They were on the eve of a resignation which might have damaged them greatly as the breaking up of the Gladstone autocracy, and they gain their end another way. It seems doubtful whether Gladstone has gone down, and it seems a great burden to impose upon him. Will Her Majesty come up? I think she must feel the necessity for doing so, as delays are dangerous. Ireland is, of course, the main obstacle in our way, as we could not, if we would, carry a Crimes Bill.'

D. June 11.—'Dined at the Middle Temple to see Prince Albert Victor entertained as a Bencher. The Prince of Wales, Richmond, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others—among them Randolph Churchill, who was loudly cheered by the students when taking the loving-cup and also on retiring, when I had some applause. Indeed, the political feeling was clear enough. Derby, I am glad to say, spoke to me as of old, and I feel no personal grudge to him. R. Churchill assured me that at a meeting at Salisbury's when I was away, the consequences of such a vote as has been given were fully considered, and specially the Irish difficulty, and it was resolved to face them. This makes it more clear how bound we are. He has evidently some assurance from some of the Irish. Can he trust them?'

D. June 13.—'The acceptance of the Ministerial resignation was announced, and apparently Her Majesty did not long deliberate about it. I might write much on coming events which possibly might discredit my prophetic powers. All is not smooth, for Randolph, as Akers Douglas informed me, made a point of Northcote's ceding the lead to Beach, who, I feel sure, is no party to such an idea. Nevertheless, there are many who desire a change, but it would be cruelly unjust to press it, for Northcote has had a hard task and if he has been wanting in some qualities of a leader, he has shown singular knowledge and ability on all questions discussed, and his defects were known when he was selected for a Chief. I hope he has not been hurt by Salisbury being selected by Her Majesty, but for more than a year events had given the latter a clear precedence in and outside the party.

'*Afternoon.*—It may be of interest hereafter to record information as to what is going on. I had a ride with the Duke of Cambridge, who is adverse to our taking office.

If we do, would make Wolseley High Commissioner in Egypt, or Viceroy of Ireland (!) He suggested my taking that enviable post. I have just come from the Carlton, where the Press telegrams announce that Lord Salisbury has declined, under present circumstances; and, though the *Evening Standard* gives a different account, I am inclined to think that the former will prove correct. One reason is that he is not coming to London to-morrow, but to Hatfield. This *might* be merely for *rest*, but when I consider the condition of affairs I think it more likely that he does not want to be disturbed by seeing and explaining until it is absolutely necessary. I had a few words with Northcote this morning in the Park, and he appears to have no certainty, but spoke of Salisbury's telegram as not easily understood. But it is clear that Churchill's demand for Northcote's removal from the lead of the Commons has something to do with the issue, which I shall be glad to find correct, for what a gulf of troubles we should otherwise be precipitated into with a divided party! Gibson urged strongly that Northcote should be persuaded into a Peerage, for which he said his family was prepared, and his conversation was as strong against his continuance in the lead as that of Churchill himself. Then Drummond Wolff said he would tell me the whole story, the result of which was that Churchill would not on any terms give up the point. He was offered a high post, but made it a *sine qua non*, and of course Salisbury would be in no position to yield it, and left town in that condition. In all probability Salisbury has felt even weaker than foes or friends could assume, and resolved not to expose such a breach to the world. Surely outside the House of Commons we are ignorant of what passes within, or this collapse of Northcote would have been more palpable to us. When I find a man like Gibson

taking so strong a line, it is clear that there must be a pressing case for such a change. Will Northcote learn and yield, or hold on?'

D. June 15.—'Richmond came in to talk. Salisbury had summoned us for 12.30 and he was going to remain with his Committee, but I advised him to adjourn it and attend, which he did. We met John Manners, Carnarvon, Cross, Gibson, G. Hamilton, Beach, Northcote. All were of one mind as to the duty imposed on us if the Gladstone Government had finally gone, and the Queen had put the point by telegram to the G.O.M., who responded Gladstonially —that Salisbury had publicly announced that he would take office (which is not true so far as I know) and that Her Majesty's acceptance of the resignation "committed" her and the Government against reconsideration. Beach and G. Hamilton, however, wished to push the Government further, and, only on their failure, to come to the aid of the Queen. Beach appeared to me not to see the consequences of his own act, and so I told him. No one spoke fully out about R. Churchill, who would not come as there were those of the old Beaconsfield Government with whom he would not serve, but no one was fixed upon, though I suppose all knew at whom he aimed. Northcote looked ill and worn, but was active in his views of the situation and the point of honour. I am not favourably impressed as to prospects, but Salisbury could not with honour surrender an old friend to purchase a new one, and must work his way as he can. Gibson was very keen, but did not put forth his anti-Northcote ideas. We are to meet again on Wednesday, asking for an adjournment to Friday next.'

D. June 16.—'The behaviour of Churchill and others versus Northcote last night augurs ill for Salisbury's success, and if he does not succeed he will withdraw from

leadership should his failure be owing to party dissension. I simply moved adjournment in the Lords and Granville assented at once. In the Park I met Fergusson, who had seen and heard what passed in the House of Commons, to his dismay. Nor was it lessened by R. Churchill telling him afterwards at the Club that there was an end of a Conservative Government. There appear to have been counter-gatherings at the Carlton of which more will be heard, but it looks as if one compartment of the ship was under water, and a water-logged Ministry will not do.'

D. June 17.—'At the Carlton Henry Manners assured me that all was set right. I had hardly written the last sentence when Salisbury came in and in the most friendly way begged me to take the Presidency of the Council. I told him, as I remember telling Disraeli sitting in the same place, that I left the matter to him, that I should readily serve in such office as I could help him in. And so I suppose that is settled if he forms a Government, about which he was not doubtful. Northcote, by his own desire, will come to the Lords, with the Colonial seals, and Beach lead in the Commons. As to the rest, much remains unarranged, but probably we shall know to-day. 1.30.—We met at Salisbury's at 12, a largish company. Smith, Cross, G. Hamilton, J. Manners, Gibson, Northcote, Churchill, Stanley, Richmond, Carnarvon, Winn, Beach. All perfectly agreed as to needful terms, priority for supply or ways and means whenever set down, and acceptance of our Exchequer Bonds. If these terms are refused, we shall fail to form a Government.'

D. June 19.—'I found that there had been a meeting at Salisbury's, and drove off to see him, but heard from Smith on the way that all had agreed in the insufficiency of Gladstone's concessions, and that unsettlement had

followed. Richmond came in last night to confirm this, so that at present all is in abeyance, and I can calmly contemplate failure, for which I shall have no regret. At the same time I doubt if it will follow, for the late Government is irrevocably broken up.'

D. June 21.—'At four we had a meeting at Salisbury's and I for the first time saw the correspondence, with which I confess I was not altogether pleased. Our Chief was, I think, rather too rigid, but he was acting on our parts and did not go beyond what we had agreed on. I have my doubts whether we ought to have asked so much, and certainly the tone of Gladstone's last letter was such as might, *if it had come at first*, have satisfied us. A good many were for taking it up as sufficient, but I could not shut my eyes to the demands made by S. as essential, and could not see my way to an honourable retreat for him. Nor could he for himself, and, so far as one can judge, the next step is with Gladstone and his colleagues, who were parties to his reply. I shall not now be surprised to see a Liberal Government again, though great professions have been made by several of them against resuming office.'

D. June 22.—'How the wheel goes round! Salisbury summoned Richmond and myself for 2.30, and we found John Manners and Beach. A letter from the Queen was put before us, in which she regrets Salisbury's view of Gladstone's promises, and engages to recommend us publicly to accept them as equivalent to what we need, and so to have power to insist on their fulfilment. We all, but Beach, felt that in such a case she could not be resisted, one's loyal instincts rose against it. But when we had read to us a *private* letter of Gladstone's to her, we were all strongly confirmed in our view that it was a real concession, and

before we left Sir H. Ponsonby had come in to say that Gladstone would assent to its being made public.

'Salisbury weary of the selfseekers, the beggars, the impracticables, and, above all, of one forced on him who played such pranks, would gladly have thrown up his task and gone almost into private life; but his feeling for the Queen, who cannot retire or resign—like Richmond's, John Manners', and mine—was such as to overbear all other considerations, and to this Beach came fully round.'

The volume of the Diary concludes on June 24 with these words: 'Here I may leave off as far as this book is concerned, and begin my new office with a new journal. We have troublous duties before us. God speed us through them with advantage to the country, whatever may happen to ourselves! He has guided me through much in safety, and given me a home—never happier than now.'

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE GOVERNMENT OF CARETAKERS (1885)

THE rest of the year 1885 may be treated very briefly. The references to politics in the Diary are rendered somewhat obscure through the writer's great care to avoid noting anything like Cabinet secrets. There were difficult questions of administration in Africa, Afghanistan, and the East of Europe, but Ireland and its problems raised the most anxious and pressing questions. My father was indignant at the attacks made upon Lord Spencer in the House of Commons, and raised the question in the Cabinet. He regarded Lord Carnarvon's course in Ireland with anxiety, and speaks of 'consternation' at one of his financial proposals, the precise nature of which is not disclosed. Lord Ashbourne's success with his purchase scheme met with his approval. His departmental work was light, as educational questions were for the time in abeyance. There are many allusions to the meteoric rise of Lord Randolph Churchill. The first chapter of the second volume of his son's interesting work should be compared. It gives an exhaustive and very detailed account of this period.

D. June 25.—'We were a large party in the saloon carriage which took us to Windsor yesterday, and very hot. The Queen greeted me kindly when I went in alone, and smiling said "it looked like old times." There was no contretemps but the careless omission of the kissing hands by Northcote, which was soon set right; and Her Majesty

gave Chaplin the War Office seals by mistake easily rectified. Still there should be some distinctive mark on each set.'

D. June 26.—'I visited the Council Office, and found myself in my old Home Office quarters, which brought back many memories. There was no pressing business, so I was able to attend the party meeting at the Carlton, where Salisbury made a very good speech, well received, especially his explanation of how we came to be where we are. Northcote was sympathetically welcomed, and in the few words he said his tone was manly and excellent. I asked the Duke of Northumberland to say something to him as late leader, recognised by Lords as well as Commons, but he spoke in a whisper, and dropped out words inconsecutively, so that I doubt if the meeting knew what he was at. I was called away to sit as Commissioner with the new Lord Chancellor to give assent to some Bills including Redistribution; a quaint ceremony witnessed by Evelyn and her mother, who, after Salisbury and Granville had spoken very satisfactorily, drove me home through the wintry air, I wonder how many degrees colder than the day before.'

D. June 27.—'Our Cabinet was business-like, but the Afghan boundary is in an unsatisfactory condition, and much has been conceded. The line is altogether unreal, strategically, and politically dangerous. Egypt, Dongola, &c., need firm and resolute action, and what a history of pretence and folly the retention of the Guards in Egypt! No meaning in it! Ireland stood over for more knowledge. I was much struck with Northcote's pallor and general feebleness, and I am afraid he must for some time have been in bad health. I saw Giffard take his seat as a Peer, rode, and dined at home, then to the Queen's Ball; got home at 12.40.'

D. June 28.—'Wolseley recommends a return to Khartoum, a feat which, however really desirable, will be almost impossible, if not quite so, now that retirement has gone so far with the acquiescence of the country. He foresees many years in Egypt.'

D. July 12.—'A Cabinet at 12 yesterday. Heard Carnarvon's views—clear as to what we *must* do, though not so clear as to what *may* be needed. Risk must be run, and both he and Gibson hope that we may get through it safely. Afghanistan waits, and Egypt also, for Wolseley's arrival, and in the hope that the money wanted may be got.'

D. July 18.—'We have had a long Cabinet, first on Bechuanaland and Khama's land, on which we had by no means adequate information. Warren has done admirably the work he was sent to do, but his ambition has gone further than public money, even if public opinion, will ratify. Then Carnarvon and his guarantee of deposits. Consternation! but refusal to support means dethronement, and no one wanted that; so our hand is forced into unknown liabilities without knowledge of assets, because the "Irish are emotional" and "cannot take care of themselves." Then I complained of Gorst's speech on the Maamtrasma case. I do not like the apparent Irish treaty, though it does not really exist. We shall be exposed to much attack, and Gorst furnishes the material.'

D. July 22.—'Ashbourne seemed to take the House, and got his Bill along rapidly. Salisbury took occasion to speak in high terms of Spencer, and we cheered him loudly.'

The Relief Bill, referred to next, was one doing away with the disqualification as electors of those accepting medical relief.

D. July 25.—'A Cabinet at 3 decided to accept the

Relief Bill in the House of Commons, and it will no doubt pass the Lords. Friday's Irish debate has told heavily against us, and I cannot justify it.

D. August 3.—'When shall I get away? At the Cabinet to-day it looked like Friday week—a terrible delay, and we in the Lords are unoccupied. Afghanistan is still a trouble, and Burmah may rise into one. I was far from pleased at Randolph Churchill's evident relations with Parnell and Healy. I spoke to Salisbury about it. There is nothing tangible, but I dread his secret action and believe it to be wrong and dangerous.'

D. August 11.—'Our Cabinet was long (12 to 2.30). Carnarvon "on the state of Ireland" was not discussed, and contained nothing absolutely new, but noted our responsibilities. The Speech was settled, I think, pretty well. Navy discussed, and projects adjourned until October, while we go on steadily. Army arrangements for bringing back Guards, setting free militia and reserves, not as disarmament, but as essential for real efficiency and preparation for a strong Army Corps.'

He was at a Council at Osborne on the 12th. The Queen was 'as usual very gracious and frank.' He reached Strathgarve, which he had again taken for the season, on the 14th. I need not give details of his holiday, which produced plenty of exercise but indifferent sport; but a curious fishing adventure shared by him with my brother Gathorne deserves to be recorded.

D. August 28.—'I determined after breakfast to make a tour of the loch, as there was a good breeze and cloud. Gathorne hooked a fair pike with his natural bait, and bagged it. Then I was favoured, and clearly had a large fish on, but my line suddenly slackened, and I fancied he

was off, but immediately after both Gathorne's line and mine were run away with by the same fish, and he made a gallant fight. We brought him almost lifeless to the edge of the boat at last, and saw that he was some ten or twelve pounds in weight at least, and far too large for the landing net, which however Tolmie (the keeper) tried, as he seemed quite done. Alas! he struck our hooks out, and, although the fish lay long enough upon the water for us to back the boat to him, we could not get hold. The adventure was strange, and made us laugh heartily.'

He left Strathgarve on September 14, and was at Balmoral at a Council on the following day. Sir Henry Holland (now Lord Knutsford) was sworn in as Vice-President of the Council. My father had highly approved of his appointment, when suggested to him, and they were warm political and personal friends.

D. Balmoral, September 16.—'I never thought that I should be here again, and I am in entirely new quarters—upstairs—which I never was before. . . . It was 9.30 when we dined. Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry, a Prince of Hesse—a pleasant animated boy full of his stalking—Holland, Iddesleigh, Sir Henry Ewart, Miss Phipps, Miss Fitzroy—the party. The Queen spoke feelingly of the change in Iddesleigh, and yet he is much better than when I saw him last, but the old animation is wanting. Holland seemed to please.'

It would be improper to quote Her Majesty's friendly and frank remarks. Some future historian, a generation hence, may perhaps glean from the Diary and correspondence material interesting and then no longer confidential. She alluded to the leadership of the party.

'I told her that my disappointment, if any, had not

disturbed the course of my life, and, when I look back, I cannot regret it, and indeed am conscious of many wants in myself for such a post. Iddesleigh has in my opinion shown great ability. Beach seems to have satisfied his party, and certainly has firmness enough.'

Gladstone's address to the electors of Midlothian was issued on his return from his cruise in the *Sunbeam*, composed, as he writes to Sir William Harcourt on September 12, 'with my best care to avoid treading on the toes of the right or the left wing.'

D. September 19.—'She (the Queen) doubted his coming forward for Midlothian, but that doubt is solved by the issue of his verbose manifesto which I got at Carlisle yesterday morning. Gladstone's essay will hardly convert many. It owes its superficial success, if any, to a steady *suppressio veri* throughout; and what is to be said of a leader who reserves his views on Church and State and free education, though in argument he rather condemns the latter?'

D. October 6.—'I came up for a Cabinet to-day at 12, and we were all assembled. Carnarvon's picture of Ireland was in the gloomiest colours, and he was confirmed by Ashbourne and George Hamilton. His remedies almost none, and his present action, though all that the law allows, does not promise much. Determination to use the law as far as possible must be further tried, and executive action to mitigate the effects of this cruel boycotting. Afterwards? I made my protest against certain methods, as I thought that was needed, though the time for them, if ever, is not yet. But I am bound to say I feel dissatisfied, and fear Carnarvon's nature. It is too sentimental. We talked of many points, and no doubt Salisbury's speech to-morrow will reproduce some.'

D. October 10.—'Salisbury's grand speech at Newport more than realises my expectation, and will confirm the opinion of his ability and vigour. I see Chamberlain has gone to Hawarden. Will they have a real, or a Gladstonian concert?—like his European one.'

At Eridge Castle, the seat of the Marquis of Abergavenny, he met Lord Randolph Churchill, who told him his Irish views; the same in effect as are quoted in his 'Life' from a letter to a 'friend of mark,' dated October 14 ('Churchill,' vol. ii. p. 4).

D. October 27.—'After a very wet morning the sky cleared, and I had a bright dry drive to Eridge, which I reached about 5.20. The guests gradually accumulated by dinner-time: Lords Hardinge and Stanhope and Randolph Churchill, Sir R. Bateson (afterwards Lord Deramore) and H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Mr. Horace Farquhar and Sir George Wombwell—the last five were the guns with me to-day. I had a good deal of talk with Randolph Churchill, who made no secret of his objections to Northcote from the beginning of the Parliament. Hoped his motives had not been misconceived, but the honourable immobility of Salisbury made his action necessary. I told him that I had been for a single leader at first, and I still feel that there might have been such an arrangement without the severe trial which came to Northcote at last. At the same time I think, and said, that his ability and knowledge had surprised me. His (R. C.'s) idea of Irish policy is to grant the educational desires of the Roman Catholic clergy, but to stand out against anything like a National Council, which would be an embryo of a separate Parliament, and he thinks the bishops would help to check Parnell. I do not see my way to this, but I am not at all adverse to denominational

education in Ireland. I fancy he feels he is a frail being, with nerves easily tried, and speaks of himself as short lived, as he expects the race presently to be, in which I do not agree with him, for all seems to point to a general lengthening of life. He looks delicate, and I should not trust his physical powers for a long and severe strain. Our shoot has been successful—214 ducks, 127 rabbits, 2 pheasants.'

The last Cabinet before the elections was held on November 11.

'A Cabinet at 12 went through foreign matters. The Balkan States a trouble. Russia, with the assent of Austria, and I fear, the connivance of Germany, mischievous. In the far East, with all her professions, it is clear India doubts. It looks as if Egypt proper is to be assailed, and possibly more troops may be needed. Our Irish element was absent, so no discussion; but I heard of Boycotting in its worst and most dishonest form. So we adjourned—not to meet until the Elections tell us our fate. On all hands we are told of improved prospects, but I will not be too sanguine, for I fear that the darkness of the future is in breasts not very demonstrative. Constant applications to speak, but I am fully engaged—Liverpool, Bradford, Leeds, Stratford, and a dozen other places. After the 18th I could not without breach of privilege; up to it I am engaged.'

He addressed meetings at many places, amongst others at Cranbrook, Benenden, Dulwich, and Tonbridge. The Council to dissolve Parliament was held at Windsor on November 18.

D. November 19.—'I was glad of a walk with Peel to the Great Western, as the sun was bright and the sky clear. Salisbury and George Hamilton joined us, and we left for

Windsor in a cheering crowd, and were greeted by the same there. I thought Salisbury looking very tired; and he was absorbed in thought most of the time, though ready to enjoy a laugh at some of the things we told him. The Queen was no worse for her night journey, which she admitted was the coldest she remembered. But the change to Windsor must be great, for they had 26 degrees of frost at Balmoral, with the added blessing of snow! I had practically no interview with her. And so ends a Parliament bad enough, but a worse may come, though the reports from all parts improve daily, and the Midlothian speeches cannot have any great effect upon those who hear them, much less on the outsiders who wade through them. Pulling so hard upon the curb may make the steed caper, but will not make him go.'

The elections were soon in full swing, and, at first the Conservative victories exceeded all expectations, but in the end the new voters in the counties turned the scale and gave the Opposition a substantial majority. The progress of the election, with its alternate hopes and fears, is reflected at length in the journal, but is ancient history now, and need not be quoted in detail.

D. December 8.—'At the Carlton there are no longer high spirits, for we are awfully beaten in the counties generally, and the Liberals will muster some 320 at least and we not 260. I expect they will have probably over 70 majority. The general view seems to be that we must meet Parliament. It would embarrass our opponents if we did not, but the public would not approve.'

D. December 10.—'We have had terrible mishaps, and the Liberals have 76 majority. We shall have an anxious discussion on Monday. Lytton writes at great length in reply to a note of mine, recommending our submitting to

Parliament our plans, one of which should be a resolute dealing with Ireland. There is no good solution of the difficulties : what is the least evil one ? Parnellite dictation is for us out of the question. Will the Liberals shrink from it ? '

A Council was held on the 12th, when he had an interview with Her Majesty.

D. December 13.—' Carnarvon was waiting to see me at the Council Office, and I fear that he is about to injure himself and the Government. It seems that he only undertook his office until Parliament met, and that expense and health make him desirous at once to quit it. I cannot help seeing that the burden of it, and of dealing with the Irish question, is really at the bottom of it. I told him that he would upset the coach ; for who would take his place under existing circumstances ? No one but Salisbury has known of his arrangement or design when he took office, and the greatest surprise and irritation will ensue if he acts on his purpose. The expense he dwelt upon seems serious, and he told me that his Hants rents had fallen 75 per cent. We are in a tangle, and Ireland blocks the way. If Herbert Gladstone speaks for his father, an alliance is imminent which may soon relieve us from office, and Carnarvon evidently thought, or knew, that negotiations were in progress. If so he may safely hold on a little.'

D. December 14.—' Cabinet met at 3. Apparent but no real conflict, as it was settled by the necessity of the case. The Queen's Speech must precede Parliamentary work, but we shall challenge confidence as early as possible. Churchill and others forgot the rules, and wanted to break them, which was impossible as I thought, and not wise if

possible' (see Churchill's Life, p. 25: 'Lord Randolph was most anxious to assign a foremost place to Parliamentary Procedure'). 'Facts brought all to the same mind, which in substance has always been the same, not to be a Government under direction, but to bring the matter to an issue at once. I feel confident that Gladstone is already negotiating for his majority.'

D. December 16.—'At the Cabinet Carnarvon told me that he had arranged to stay until decisive action taken, which will be before January is out. We went over Bills, &c. Near the close Randolph Churchill's language about procedure was threatening.'

D. December 17.—'The *Standard* to-day gives a Gladstonian Irish programme as authentic. I doubt it, for it is Repeal of the Union. The problem of Home Rule as the Irish understand it, with Imperial rule as we understand it, is insoluble, and at all events we shall not attempt its solution. The more I think of Churchill's "absolute necessity of procedure having precedence," and his threat of secession otherwise, the more I am convinced that he was not sincere in agreeing with us to meet Parliament.'

(All this matter is very fully dealt with in the first chapter of Mr. Winston Churchill's 'Life of Lord Randolph' vol. i. See especially his letter to Lord Salisbury of December 17. I suspect that my father's name should fill one of the blanks in the sentence 'that beatific state of chronic deliberation which is the peculiarity of . . . , . . . and Co.')

D. December 19.—'The world is wild on Gladstone and Home Rule. Having broken in upon the principle of property, sacred, and private, he will probably try his hand at severing the United Kingdom, and fail, as all his attempts to reconcile Ireland have failed.'

My father's summary of his diaries terminates with this year, the latter portion having been written in 1895, so from this point I have not the advantage of his considered comments on past events. It concludes as follows:

S.—'The Elections ended adversely, but we resolved to meet Parliament as a Government. Rumours of Gladstone's alliance were prevalent, and insinuated by Herbert Gladstone. They seemed incredible, but proved true. Carnarvon and Randolph Churchill were troubles; but the former undertook to meet Parliament as Viceroy. Council at the end of the year at Osborne. Queen very emphatic.'

The year 1886 began stormily, but the troubles of the Government were soon ended with their existence. Lord Carnarvon's resignation could not be any longer postponed. The early part of the session was a period of peculiar stress and difficulty, and release, which came early in February on Mr. Jesse Collings's amendment, was welcome to all. The Diary at this period is very full, and as detailed as is consistent with the observance of Cabinet etiquette.

D. January 3, 1886.—'At the Cabinet all but the Duke of Richmond (absent on account of the death of Lord Francis Lennox) and Carnarvon were present. The latter had written me a long letter urging me to talk to Salisbury about a new appointment. I did what he asked, but Salisbury clearly could not get anyone for such a duty in present circumstances, but promised to keep his word in setting him free on the 25th. I fear he will leave Ireland in a terrible condition. We began by hearing two notes of Gladstone to Balfour, very Gladstonian and ambiguous, and pledging not even himself to anything real. "If we would undertake the complete settlement of the future Government of Ireland, he would treat us as on the Afghan

boundary and the Balkan provinces." What does this mean? I was for a clear reply, but it was decided to leave matters for the Queen's Speech.'

D. January 10.—'All were at the Cabinet but Carnarvon, so that much could not be said or done on Irish affairs, but they were mooted and we gathered from Ashbourne that things are going from bad to worse, and that, in a few weeks at latest, action by *any* Government is inevitable. Our responsibility becomes serious, and I see that R. C. will not lighten it. Local Government, with Balfour present, was our main occupation, and it was clearly one for which our members are not eager. They recognise the necessity of a move in the democratic direction, but I expect will try limitation, which will fail. Ireland of course makes a great difficulty as regards police and other matters. I am more and more convinced that, with 250 men, our position as a legislating machine is impossible, and ought to be put an end to.'

Lord Salisbury wrote to him on the 15th urging him to accept the Viceroyalty:

'The idea occurred to me when listening to you to-day, that possibly you would yourself be willing to undertake the Irish Viceroyalty, at least during this time of crisis. Your doing so would inspire great confidence, and, I need not say, would be very acceptable to your colleagues, whom it would relieve from a great difficulty in the most satisfactory way possible.'

My father replied at once:

'I cannot but feel deeply such a mark of confidence as your note contains, but, without going into the political

question, family considerations make my acceptance of your offer impossible. Lady Cranbrook's health would not admit of her encountering the smallest part of the duties which belong to the office, and at our time of life separation is not to be contemplated. For myself, I have had the warnings of old age, and doubt if I should be able to meet the pressure of incessant work and grave responsibility. The personal question, however, might be got over, but the family one is, I fear, insoluble. I do not enter into particulars, but I am confident that if I did you would feel that I have no alternative but to decline, which I do with much gratitude.'

D. January 16.—'I have been away since Tuesday morning last, and much has happened. The Cabinet on that day, which was early to allow of M.P.s going to elect their Speaker, raised serious questions in respect of Ireland, of which Carnarvon's absence necessarily deferred the full discussion. There was manifest dissatisfaction at the state of things, and Randolph Churchill threw out suggestions, which I confess made me think, with a view to effective action. It had been intended to have no meeting until Saturday, but I foresaw that time would fail us for the controversy on various points, or, if not controversy, amicable debate, and I urged a meeting as soon as Salisbury got back from Osborne, to which he was inconveniently going on Wednesday for two nights. So it happened that we met on Friday afternoon, and I took an active part and was ready for a somewhat risky responsibility, in which I was backed by some strong and sober members, and warmly by Randolph Churchill; but the steps proposed needed union and force, and became impracticable unless all were of one mind. Much discourse followed, and there was a general feeling that the Irish Government was ill-informed, irresolute,

and wanting to make our standing-ground a shifting quicksand. Two or three weeks were to bring about the inevitable evils, and we were to wait, speak doubtfully, and propose nothing! The Attorney-General for Ireland had no evidence, could get none of palpable facts, offer none for our enquiry, and all was a problem. Were rents paid or not? Were people boycotted to any extent? Was there a treasonable conspiracy? No evidence! No movement therefore; and to occupy the position proposed in Parliament, as I think, impossible. But curiously enough, R. C. all for an illegal measure: [Life, p. 35, 'We could have come to an agreement to-day upon Lord Cranbrook's suggestion'] 'was against obtaining legal powers, and urged the "no evidence," so we eventually adjourned, all unsettled, till to-day, when the morning post brought me a letter from Salisbury urging me to take the Viceroyalty. Impossible of course! not only for my age's sake, but for my dear wife's sake, who could not face such duties as even on the lowest scale must be discharged, and separation at our age is not to be contemplated. So I wrote, and she agreed, and yet I am sure that her spirit is greater than mine, and that she no doubt would have reluctantly launched me upon the impracticable task. Of course the political difficulties she has not in her mind, but they are vividly in mine. I feel that the surroundings of the Viceroyalty are not what is needed for vigorous work, and I am afraid that a drifting policy has weakened the springs of government. I went in to see Richmond, not as doubting of my answer, but still seeking confirmation of my objections, and, though he said he would be glad to see me there, he admitted their imperative force. To no other colleague have I spoken of the offer; but it is curious that Beach said: "If you will go to Ireland, I will undertake

any Bill, or do anything." This brings me to our discussion of this afternoon, on which I may say generally that all but one or two were ready to act, and all see that action is not far off. Ashbourne had been convinced, and was prepared at once, on account of reports of resident magistrates received last night. In fact, it is idle to say that Parliamentary evidence is wanting, though technical evidence to convict individuals may not be forthcoming. Salisbury would have been content to begin with enquiry, but this would not be satisfactory without witnesses directed to some object. If both were combined I should have no objection, although I prefer, as I think he does, legislation. We agreed to a strong pronouncement on the Union, and I have strong hopes that we shall all be unanimous on Monday. Those who are anxious to fall are those who hesitate, and yet how could we stand or fall better than by supporting law and order, and overthrowing the league against it?'

The passage in the Speech unanimously accepted at last after so much discussion and difference of opinion, reads as follows. It is printed in the Life of Lord Randolph Churchill, from which I take it:

'The social, no less than the material, condition of that country engages my anxious attention. Although there has been during the last year no marked increase of serious crime, there is in many places a concerted resistance to the enforcement of legal obligations, and I regret that the practice of organised intimidation continues to exist. I have caused every exertion to be made for the detection and punishment of these crimes, and no effort will be spared on the part of my Government to protect my Irish subjects in the exercise of their legal rights and the enjoyment of

individual liberty. If, as my information leads me to apprehend, the existing provisions of the law should prove to be inadequate to cope with these growing evils, I look with confidence to your willingness to invest my Government with all necessary powers.'

'I would have had the passage stronger in the present sense,' is my father's comment, but he did not impair the unanimity of its acceptance.

D. January 18.—'Our Cabinet was unanimous, and I am satisfied with a somewhat weaker expression of the same thing as I wanted, because it meets the views of the weaker kind. We talked over Local Government, Greece, Bimetallism, &c. Smith divulged to me that on Dyke's resignation, Salisbury offered the Secretaryship to him, and his strong sense of duty will, I fancy, make him take it.'

D. January 21.—'Salisbury's banquet brought me a surprise. He asked me to remain after it, and urged me to take the War Office, which Smith, reluctantly but patriotically, vacated for the Irish Secretaryship. The change is not pleasant to me, but I must be of use if I can, so I agreed without making a face. We talked of my successor, Carnarvon, Harrowby; Iddesleigh suggested himself, and, I imagine, will so escape from the anomalous position that he holds. Carnarvon will go for the present. Harrowby has work on the Commission where he may be very useful. The Speech was received at the dinner, but the contingent expression as to existing law in Ireland drew adverse comments, as I expected that it would. If we act, words will not matter. The Opposition seems disorganised, and the announcement, in a sort of communiqué, that Granville would not have given a dinner had he known that Gladstone would not, was amusing, and rather a riddle. We shall

soon know more, and I will not be prophetic further than to say that I do not see how we can hold our own for long.'

The Queen opened Parliament in person on January 21.

'*11* P.M.—The great ceremony, in spite of gloom, was imposing, and my position in the procession and surroundings of Her Majesty gave me a full sight of the crowded House, floor and galleries crowded with ladies. On the whole the Speech has been well received, but our compromise has left the only opening for criticism, which should be dispelled by action. Granville had no other bitters in his phial, and he was followed by Spencer, and Kimberley, Gibson intervening, and I, for a word or two, following the latter. Curiously, none of them was emphatic on the Union, but absolutely silent; though not on the integrity of the Empire. Gibson taunted them, but Kimberley was not drawn. I suppose after me there was practically an end.'

D. January 24.—'Friday night. Gladstone's speech is addressed to the Irish. Nothing plain and straightforward, and no real denial of the views imputed to him, but only of their publication by him! He evidently wants what we do—our ousting. I feel we have an impossible position, but wish to fall honourably.'

D. January 26.—'Our Cabinet on Saturday was on many important topics, mainly Irish; Smith preparing to start for his unwelcome post, the discussion turned on Irish subjects, and I think the feeling that we had not been bold enough in our announcement, for the reason explained before, was universal. . . . O'Brien's motion on evictions—How could we stop them, and let off "won't" as well as "can't"? I have done nothing about my War Office

arrangements, and have my doubts if I shall ever go there. There was a general impression to-night and to-day that our innings were practically over, as they ought to be. We had a majority over Barclay, but Collings and allotments are feared this evening—an absurd amendment which, admitted, should bring in its train a Queen's Speech longer than a President's message. At the Cabinet we resolved (why not earlier?) to announce our repressive measures for Thursday, adopting Smith's language in his letters. Beach did it, and we shall see the result, probably to-morrow. Reports are rife that Hartington, Goschen, and even Harcourt, support us against Collings.'

D. January 27.—'Out! Joyfully do I record our defeat in the Commons last night. Goschen and Hartington spoke for us, and we have therefore comrades in favour of common-sense. Goschen was severe on Gladstone, and cannot be answered. "He was not to be converted in three days." I suppose 79 majority would about represent the Irish vote—and that is a cause for satisfaction. We shall see "the engineer hoist with his own petard" in his turn. I wish I saw my way to a Liberal Government that we could support, but I fear the men and measures will be alike abominable. Then 250 are more than 85, and must make themselves felt in debate, if not division. Evil days! but we powerless in office could not avert or end them. We have a good report to show, and Salisbury has established a European reputation. Gladstone told the Duke of Westminster "that he could not object to one item of his foreign policy." I passed it on to Salisbury. His reply was, "I fear I must have done wrong." Let us see what will follow on a change of Ministry. I have done nothing but laugh over our defeat, as if it were a triumph, and feel enormous relief. *Evening.*—There has been much excitement, but I

think the judicious see that we had no option but to retire. The blow was meant to destroy, and we may so accept it, though lively enough for future watchfulness and resistance. Her Majesty telegraphed "not to be precipitate and resign on a triviality." A small matter may indicate a great cause. But Beach, by direction of the Cabinet, pledged us to-day, and although R. C. doubted to-day, he was one of us yesterday, and stood alone to-day, so that eventually he decided not to impair the unanimity of our decision, which Salisbury would at once send. Our Cabinet was not long, for we were all of one mind except as above.'

D. January 30.—'I attended Holland's Hampstead dinner which was very well arranged, and crowded. My speech, which really came out as I stood, was heartily received, and the meeting was fortunate in its speakers. Holland and Clarke did well, and I have seldom heard a more lively "return thanks" for the ladies than Mr. Sydney Holland made.

'*Evening.*—I had a long talk with Smith and Randolph Churchill, and the latter professes to be in antagonism to the Parnellites for ever; and says that no effort should be spared to avoid being mixed with them in the same lobby, and to prevent their being the agents of destruction to any other Ministry. This may not be easy, but anything which could be construed by the basest into collusion should be avoided, and, I think, could be. Smith spoke, as Jekyll had done in a visit to me at the Privy Council, of the awful state of Ireland, and the way things had been allowed to drift when Carnarvon, probably under the influence of Sir R. Hamilton, floated towards the "inevitable" as he supposed. That odious word! which covers so much weakness, and is the excuse for so much want of firmness! In the meantime Gladstone is at work, and secretly, so we must wait; but some good judges think he may fail. Could then Hartington,

with our aid (not as officials), succeed? He doubts if Chamberlain is not too strong for him, but perhaps, if he made himself a distinct rallying point, there would be a larger cluster round him than he imagines. Even extreme Liberals are not happy in the prospect the Government has opened, and do not see their way. If he would boldly say "I will be your leader," there might be a rally to him. At least he would be taking the manly course of asserting his own opinions.'

D. February 3.—'Darkness over the disposition of the atoms in the new Ministry, enough known to show that it will be intensely Radical, and intensely dangerous. The power of dissolution to an uninformed constituency is dangerous, for a cry of covetousness may cover the insidious danger of Repeal.'

D. February 5.—'The Cabinet appeared remarkable for the absence of important names. Campbell-Bannerman, War, —Mundella, Board of Trade—in it. They may be workers, but will not add to the influence of the body, and will be echoes of the Chief. John Morley has to be tried. There is no doubt of his ability as a writer, but his is the ominous name for Ireland. Harcourt at the Exchequer is a comical incongruity, while Childers at the War Office will, no doubt, introduce his meddlesome mischief into some part or other of the department—to be set right by a successor. What Rosebery will do at the Foreign Office is unknown, but right feeling is expected of him, and some consideration for British interests. Probably he will not depart from the Salisbury course. This will be our last day as "caretakers." Her Majesty telegraphed yesterday afternoon for a Council to-day, but at about 4.15 put us off until Saturday, when the Seals will pass into new hands. There is no sorrow in our ranks, but a good deal of apprehension from the enemy

of his country who heads the new officials. How long will his Ministry last? If rumour be true it is already threatened from within by Chamberlain, who is by no means content with his position or the terms.'

D. February 7.—'Our official course came to an end yesterday by the surrender of the Seals. We started in a very severe frost with a bright sky, and had a rapid run to Portsmouth. Her Majesty did not long delay the Council, as she wished us to be off before the new ones came on. My short conversation with her was animated and most friendly. She had a kind word for us all.

'So, probably, ends my official life, but I must not while strength remains cease to interest myself in the great political strife before us.'

CHAPTER XXIX

THE HOME RULE QUESTION AND THE LEADERSHIP OF LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (1886)

THE period next dealt with is a critical one, and full of political interest. The parting of the ways has been reached, for the questions raised for the first time in 1886 still divide parties, and smoulder under their ashes. My father, who in the concluding words of the last chapter predicted, not for the first time, the close of his official career, occupied for six more years a leading place in the Councils of the Government, and his interest in politics ceased only with his life. Such extracts as I may legitimately quote will be found to throw light on the stormy end of the career of Lord Randolph Churchill, the closing days of Lord Iddesleigh, who passed from the scene just after the dramatic resignation which proved to be the official suicide of his rival and successor in the Leadership, the fall of the Gladstone Government, and the negotiations of Lord Salisbury with Lord Hartington and the Liberal Unionists. My father had now reached his seventy-second year, but it cannot be said that he was 'lagging superfluous on the stage.' It will be seen that he was ready and willing at any time to relinquish office, and that he offered to retire in favour of a Liberal Unionist, or of Lord Iddesleigh, when Lord Salisbury took the Foreign Office, but in spite of his age he was pressed to occupy more laborious and important offices than the Presidency of the Council. My first quotation refers to the riotous procession of the 'Unemployed' which did considerable damage in its progress through the streets.

D. February 9, 1886.—'In the afternoon at the Carlton. The surging mob from Trafalgar Square calling themselves the "unemployed" came along Pall Mall. Generally speaking they appeared goodhumoured, and they displayed no special hostility, as far as I could see, but there were mischief-makers among them. A few things were thrown at the windows, and some broken; in more than one case a catapult, or pistol, was used, as the clean round little fractures showed. Not a policeman was about, and having begun they got worse, and in St. James's Street and Piccadilly much wanton damage was done. Mr. Guy Dawnay, Lord Limerick, and, I dare say, others, were robbed, and Aggy Jekyll and her mother were alarmed in their carriage, and the window broken. It is well if no worse happened, for there was no control; and Childers's reign with Broadhurst commences ill. We were glad to see Katie and Evelyn safe back from the Post Office.'

D. February 10.—'The newspapers revealed a lamentable destruction of property, and North and South Audley Street have suffered grievously, as I saw in my afternoon walk. The Socialist leaders need punishment, and they are responsible for acts in accord with their ill teaching.'

D. February 11.—'I called at Portland Place yesterday morning, and on my way saw more signs of the brutal devastation of property. At the Carlton in the afternoon rumours of new mobs were rife, and the police recommended shutters. Vague alarms and false reports kept up a panic and must have much interfered with business. Police precautions probably stopped outrage; but people will demand not merely protection but security.'

D. February 12.—'Great exaggeration had prevailed the evening before about riots. Crowds, no doubt ready for turbulence, were afoot, and in the Hampstead Road windows

were broken, but much interruption to business was caused by panic, and it is said that ten miles of shops were shut up. Yesterday, so far as I heard, passed quietly enough.'

D. February 16.—'Just come back from Holy Communion in Henry VII chapel as a member of the House of Laymen, in respect of which what is my duty? The Archbishop asked me to be nominated as President—I declined, as Parliament and other work occupy me sufficiently. I am old—have had no hand in gathering this House of Laymen, and have the vaguest idea of its functions. Last night Talbot and Cubitt urged it upon me, but I was firm. To-day the Bishop of Truro, by letter and in person, has done the same—and Stewart backs him. These things give me pause; as the Yorkshire people say, "I hover"; but it is too late to take any step, and I must be guided by the action of the House at 2 P.M. Selborne would be the man, but declines; I am too pronounced a politician, which is an objection, as not enough Liberals appear on the list, which is a pity.'

D. February 17.—'I hardly know what to say about the prospective work, and fitness for work of the House of Laymen. After all I escaped, as Selborne was nominated by Mr. Spottiswoode, and unanimously elected, and there can be no doubt of his being the best man for the place. I suppose that Mr. S. knew that he would take it. In the meantime he was made Vice and sat; but all was rather confused, and it was such a conversational mode of making our arrangements that the proceedings afforded no real test of his capacity.'

D. March 9.—'Last night was the Iddesleigh testimonial banquet, at which all parties were fairly represented. Rather a remarkable evening. All was well done, and Herschell did his part as the proposer of Iddesleigh's health admirably.

His tone and language were singularly appropriate. Iddesleigh was a good deal overcome, and had a difficult task. He manifested much feeling at the circumstances of his leaving the House of Commons, and made no secret of the wound inflicted. It was plaintive, but I am not sure that it was quite dignified. One did not feel with him as one should have done if he had struck the right key. His position was exceptionally trying, and one must not be fastidious.'

D. March 22.—'The political secrecy continues, and I hear from Randolph Churchill that Chamberlain assures him that he is going. Sir C. Trevelyan, I am told, vouches for his son, and suspicion of heresy to his Chief even involves Sir William Harcourt! No Cabinets summoned add to the strength of inferences of disunion. The great man is said to be in high spirits, believing in himself in the midst of distrust!'

D. March 23.—'And yet last night he spoke with a passion hardly to be called out by a discussion upon volunteers, and I rather look upon his vehemence as that of Captain Absolute when he attacks Fagg, because his father has quarrelled with him. There can be no doubt that the mutiny spreads. R. C. says that Spencer is ready to give up the purchase scheme, and the Radicals dread it.'

D. March 24.—'Dined at the H. S. Northcotes', who have a charming home and there was a pleasant party. After dinner was glad to find myself next to Henry James, who was frank and confidential on more than one subject. He is nervous as to Hartington and his position, does not see a possibility of a Hartington Cabinet until Salisbury has tried; a victory by him over Gladstone would alienate much Liberal support at first, and the Peers now supporting the latter could not at once join him. He said that there had been much to show him how men were rising above mere

party considerations, and some behaving nobly; and I imagine he adverted to some action of Salisbury's. He agreed with me in thinking that when Hartington took a stand the rally would be greater to him than was supposed, but he said that there were 186 Radicals ready to aid the 86 Parnellites—at least so I understood him.'

D. April 6.—'Forster died yesterday, and at this epoch is especially regretted. His services have perhaps been exaggerated, but he had some high qualities. There are rumours of more dissensions in the Cabinet and of changes of plan, but I wait.'

D. April 9.—'The eventful night has passed. I did not attempt to force my way into the House of Commons, which showed an unprecedented scene, and a spectacle, I hope, never to be imitated. A Prime Minister presenting a scheme for the further degradation of Ireland, and the dishonour of England! I came home from the Lords early. After a ride I have been at Salisbury's, where we had a gathering of his old colleagues, but could not come to a resolution as we are dependent upon others, and, I fear, rotten supporters. Trevelyan spoke in a manly tone, but no Whigs could be found to face the position, although they had promised. At the same time the opinion seemed unfavourable to the chances of the second reading. We shall see what comes from Chamberlain, who speaks first. The scheme is, to my mind, of the maddest, and would lead to separation after a struggle to maintain an imperfect union, and it would be better to face the worst than to plunge into so useless a strife.'

D. April 13.—'Got into the House of Commons and heard Randolph Churchill. He was calm, methodical, and argumentative, very little of attack and moderate in all. The speech was a useful one, but, I think, not presenting

so vividly as might have been done the evils of an imperfect union, and the inevitable result. No one on either side could complain, however.'

D. April 15.—'I must record the magnificent meeting of last night at the Opera House. On the whole the speeches were worthy of the historical occasion. Hartington strong and manly, Goschen pointed and sarcastic told on his audience, Peter Rylands stirred by his homespun language—vigorous and plain statements of what is before us. Salisbury had a wonderful reception from the piled up mass, but, though vigorous, was not as powerful as I have known him. Plunket brief and earnest, carrying the popular feeling—Mr. Woodhouse much to the purpose. The mixture of politicians was extraordinary and ought to carry weight.'

The Easter holidays intervened, and there was a lull in the political arena. My father's quiet holiday was spent at Hemsted, only broken by one semi-public engagement, a visit to Bournemouth to attend the opening of a memorial building to his well-loved colleague and friend, Lord Cairns.

D. April 30.—'In the morning we visited the new building, which is attached to a Shaftesbury Hall with fine Gymnasium and Assembly Room. The memorial building seems well adapted for its club, literary, and other purposes. . . . The monument to Cairns at the cemetery is a high simple Celtic cross. At the lunch I found the Archbishop of York and Ethel Thompson, he having made a long and fatiguing journey to fulfil his promise of presiding, and I followed, dwelling most on my personal relations to Cairns, and am glad that at least Lady Cairns was pleased, though I might have done better. At all events I was true.'

D. May 12.—'The Commons began the great debate, and the irrepressible orator again occupied two hours in his shifty defence of his flexible measure, but was as vague of promise and as open to any interpretation of his words as usual. Hartington was firm and clear. It seems impossible that Chamberlain should be deluded into consenting to the second reading by Gladstone's oration, but they are moving "Acheron" to get him, and the refusal to debate "de die in diem" is part of a plan to put pressure by caucuses.'

D. May 15.—'Not much change in political news. The Bill is doomed, and Chamberlain acts with Hartington. Sir Henry James made a very able speech on Thursday.'

D. May 19.—'Gladstone evidently wants to protract the debate for his purposes. People all seem to look for some shift or trick to compass a second reading. Hartington in his plain way showed the absurdity of treating it as a Resolution. His whole speech at Bradford excellent.'

D. May 29.—'After my ride yesterday I spent nearly four hours in the Church Patronage Committee, and then to Salisbury's. The old Cabinet, and Akers Douglas, were assembled to consider a proposition of Hartington and Chamberlain that all should withdraw from the division on Home Rule, as an unmeaning one after the revelations of Gladstone. It has a captivating sound, but how would it be understood by the party? By Ulster? And how exulted in by the Premier, who would note it, as I think the country would, as a throwing up of the sponge! Beach's interrogatories, followed up by Hartington on Friday night, must have strengthened some of the weak-kneed to be more steadfast—or ought to have done so. We were practically unanimous, though R. C. did not *pronounce* one way or the other. The scene shifts from day to day.'

D. June 1.—'The political scene changed last night

when Chamberlain and his friends, no doubt strengthened by Bright's letter, decided to vote against the second reading. It seems that this reinforcement will give it a *coup de grâce* by a large majority.'

D. June 8.—'The eventful day opens brightly. The day of Gladstone's defeat last year seems likely to see his second failure. Gossip and rumour still prevail, but so far as one can judge the doom of the deadly Bill is secured, and I cannot believe in new shifts.'

D. June 9.—'The struggle is over for the present, and a majority of 30 in the fullest House ever known is the result. The excitement appears to have been tremendous. Stewart left a paper in the box on his way home, and I went down at 3 A.M. and found it, so I had early intelligence. The Commons have risen until Thursday, when I suppose dissolution will be announced. I dined with the Literary Society, a large gathering to do honour to Walpole's guest, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. I took the Doctor down to the House of Commons, and put him in Raikes's charge, so I hope he saw the memorable scene, which it is perhaps a pity to have missed, but my taste for such things is chilled. I will not venture on prophecy as to the future, but it is not a cheerful one.'

'6.15.—No one yet knows the decision of the Cabinet but all seems to point to a dissolution, for which our Whips and those of the Unionists are prepared, and I am not without confidence in a favourable, though perhaps not a sufficiently favourable result. The old man mischievous has brought us into a struggle from which it will take time to emerge with success. At the Carlton all is jubilation in the present, which for the moment excludes the future.'

D. June 25.—'The expulsion of French Princes has brought the Comte de Paris to England, and made him

announce himself as the legitimate monarch, ready when the time comes—more dangerous than in France. Bright's address is calm but pungent, and he will irritate but not affect the G.O.M. The country, however, will view it differently if well used. To-day the Parliament ends for doing its duty on a vital occasion. God speed the cause of loyalty and patriotism against one-man rule, servility, and idolatry!'

The elections commenced on July 1, and resulted in a considerable majority for the Unionists. The final result was 316 Conservatives, 78 Liberal Unionists, 191 Gladstonian Liberals, and 85 Parnellites. On July 10 Lord Salisbury writes from Royat in reply to my father's congratulations:

'As far as the Conservatives are concerned I think the polls very satisfactory. I am sorry so many of the Unionists have lost their seats. It was a good deal their own fault, for they have so systematically snubbed us, that I have no doubt our people voted rather languidly. They had much better, as we wished, have come on our platforms, and let us come on theirs. Scotland has come out worse than we expected. When you and I were first in the House of Commons, how little we should have expected that you would ever be able to write "London is really the base of Tory principles"!'

D. July 13.—'Henry Manners tells me that Gladstone will resign at the end of the week, and then? In my opinion Hartington will not, and cannot, accept office safely. . . . Can we get anyone of value in the Lords? Who is to be Foreign Secretary? for Salisbury cannot hold both offices again with safety. In such case all home work gives way to foreign, which in these times will not do. I must turn over these matters in my mind.'

Cranbrook to Salisbury, July 15, 1886.

'My dear Salisbury

'Though no doubt you hear from many well-informed quarters of what is going on, something new may possibly come from one who has had many things true and false dropped into his ears. As far as one can judge, the Tory vote will not exceed 315 or 317 at the outside, far more than we expected, less than are required for completely independent action. The Liberal Unionists, in two divisions, will hold the position lately occupied by the Parnellites, who have absorbed the Gladstonians and ought to give a name to them. They cannot, I think, exceed 270 all told, but say 280, which would leave 74 Unionists. How many of these are of the Chamberlain and how many of the Hartingtonian flock I cannot tell, but abstention of the former part would leave us an ample majority; and indeed with half we could beat the rest of the House. There is much speculation whether any would join the Government. I have a strong opinion that the leaders would not, first on account of the distinct separation involved, and secondly because their seats would be by no means secure. Perhaps Hartington might desire some of his young men to be in, but I doubt it. Trevelyan, I hear, is in favour of a coalition Government, but I hear the reverse of Hartington and Sir Henry James. The general opinion is that Gladstone will resign before Parliament meets, and you will have heard this from the same authority as I have. It seems to me his best policy, if he means to lead the Opposition, and not to begin the Parliament with a defeat. I wish I could think that his retirement from Parliament was probable, but I am afraid

the love of power will only cease with the vital energy. He is cursed by the Liberals, outraged openly and behind his back by those who have taken his shilling. One thing is clear, that you will soon be called upon to act, and I only hope you may not be summoned before you have had the full good of your baths, but I fear. If an Irish Viceroy is needed, would Lord Londonderry do? I am becoming impressed with the feeling that a Secretary for Ireland, as for Scotland, would be the thing; but legislation would be needed. If some of the Royal family would occupy the Castle for three or four months a year, that would meet the Dublin need. A. seems to think that outrages will be kept in check lest the vantage-ground gained in Great Britain should be lost. Everywhere the desire is for a lasting Government in the interests of trade, and so far we may rely on the Liberal Unionists that they will desire to keep Parliament together until Gladstone is out of it, and act accordingly.'

Lord Salisbury was soon recalled from Royat, and entrusted with the anxious task of forming an administration. He urged my father to accept the seals of the Foreign Office, but he distrusted his power of speaking languages, and refused. The post was accepted by Lord Iddesleigh, who filled it till the end of the year, when Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation occasioned a new distribution of offices. It will be seen from the Diary that my father was much consulted by his Chief both on the occasion of the formation of his Ministry and on that of its reconstruction.

D. July 23.—'Walked to the Carlton, and met many friends. Had a long talk with Barrington' (now Sir Eric Barrington, K.C.B., then Lord Salisbury's Private Secretary), 'who urged me to be Foreign Secretary, which for so

poor a linguist is out of the question, besides, it is not likely that the place will be proposed to me.'

D. July 28.—'Called on Salisbury at twelve, and had a long talk with him. He narrated his unsuccessful attempts to enlist Hartington, and certainly he went as far as was possible to achieve what I have always feared was impossible. Hartington could not have brought all his friends, if any, and he would have made too complete a severance from his old friends to suit his future, as he looks at it, and the sound interests of Liberalism. He clearly expects to exercise a controlling influence on Radicalism, in which he will, I think, be disappointed. Without him Salisbury did not seem to think separate negotiations with Goschen desirable, and I have no doubt that the latter would not come alone—and would he be serviceable in such a condition? He would perhaps exact more than his value to us; and out of sentiment he cannot very well be approached or make terms. Hartington's reply for his "friends" may be taken to include him, as they have been in constant communication, Salisbury did not seem to contemplate great changes in his Government, but there will be some that will be improvements, though they may inflict wounds. Carnarvon he had told that it would at present be undesirable, and C.'s acquiescence was shown at the meeting yesterday by his speech. Richmond does not want office. He has gone down to Scotland deliberately, and so put himself out of the way. The Foreign Office—a real difficulty—he had offered to Lord Lyons, who, as I heard yesterday, declines. He hoped to persuade Beach to go to Ireland, and that was a possibility when I left town yesterday. He wants certain conditions (unknown to me), and Smith was hopeful that they would be effected, and, as he is

the next victim, was very anxious that they should. Salisbury intimated that he should probably ask me to return to the Council, but wished that the matter might be left open, and I readily acceded, but did not anticipate the result. So far as I recollect, that is a summary of what passed on Monday, except, by the way, his intention to move Balfour from the Local Government Board to Scotland. I was appealed to by —— and ——. I fancy Akers Douglas could tell a tale of applications, and strange candidates for office, which would make the world stare. Yesterday the Carlton began to fill at mid-day, and before the meeting I had a long talk with Ashbourne and our late Irish Attorney-General on Irish affairs. The state of the country was improving, and Gladstone's defeat on June 9 was instantly followed by more payments of rent and more inclination to obey the law. Lord Leconfield had spoken to me of this on Monday. Holmes thought a very moderate Act applicable to the United Kingdom would meet the necessities of the case. He seemed, however, doubtful about obtaining evidence, which is at the root of Irish difficulties. On the whole I gathered that there would be no case for immediate action, but that must be examined by the new Secretary, and probed to the bottom. We must not drift again. The meeting was very large and unanimous. Salisbury told the story of the negotiations, which were clearly approved as exhaustive. The question as to August or October for the votes in supply was answered in favour of the former, and all went smoothly. Salisbury urged the absolute need of attendance, and consent was implied, which I hope will be followed by action. Now for the personal: Salisbury asked me to take the Foreign Office. I told him, what I feel so

terribly, my incapacity as a linguist. Practically I cannot speak French, or follow rapid speaking, as I ought. I could not serve him as I ought in that place, and so I declined. Barrington, who had urged this on me, and said it was inevitable, made light of my objection, but does not know how it affects me and detracts from my nerve. I suggested Iddesleigh, who speaks fluently, and, with Salisbury in the House and near at hand, would do well, and he said that he would ask him, otherwise he was afraid he must fall back on —— who, I am told, has the linguistic power which I, alas! lack. He then asked if in case of need I would take the Colonies, and I at once agreed. How it will end I know not; but it is curious that every Secretaryship of State would seem to have come round to me, not to mention the Admiralty and Ireland. The Colonies I should not dislike, but I had better have been younger. So things stand. I omitted my function of being supposed to unveil Mayo's bust at St. Paul's on Monday afternoon. No speaking is allowed, and as no arrangement had been made for my actually removing the covering, it was done by a verger! and I declared the monument unveiled. There was a goodly company of old friends, and Lady Mayo was gratified by my readiness to undertake the duty, though it could not be performed as she had hoped. The bust struck me as a fine work of art, and gave me the impression of Mayo at his best. Details were objected to by his near of kin, but as a whole the likeness spoke out, and it is dignified.'

D. July 29.—'The papers say Iddesleigh has accepted the Foreign Office, and Londonderry the Viceroyalty of India, so my two recommendations bear fruit. I have no letter, but probably the Colonial Office may be my

destiny. It is discreditable to fail in French, but it is curious how hard I have found it to speak.'

D. July 30.—'The evening papers add nothing to my information, but I assume we shall not go to Osborne to-morrow. 1.30.—I telegraphed for information, and have just got reply: "Assume you will return to your old position in the Government, as you said you would." I should have liked the Colonies better, but left all to Salisbury, and if he has made better arrangements without me I submit cheerfully. I always had a hankering for the Colonial Office, and it seemed almost in my hands, and no doubt would have been had I expressed a wish.'

D. July 31.—'The *Globe* reports my acceptance of office, so I suppose my reply to the telegram settled the matter. There are some strange changes—Randolph Churchill Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Leader of the House of Commons, and yet when Beach was gone there was no option. He has behaved chivalrously.'

There is a good deal of comment on the various claims, and the manner in which they were met. My father's summing up, and his views of the new Leader of the Commons are as follows:

D. August 2.—'On the whole, the self-abnegation with the Liberal Unionists has not been continued between comrades, but Salisbury has been too afraid of hurting feelings by action, while he has not succeeded in avoiding the same result, which his proposals have effected. Randolph Churchill has evidently worked for his own front bench alike by inclusion and exclusion, and will have rubbed many the wrong way. Will he do for his new place or no? He is very able, but has he the balanced mind, the control of temper, the ready judgment, the knowledge of the

House, of friends, of foes, which are requisite for a Leader? I have my fears, but hope predominates. Internal dissensions arising from disappointed expectations may much affect his position. Unity above all is needed. Then as to Unionist Liberals: they do not at present trust him. Can he effect a change? This is very doubtful. My reliance on them depends upon their determination not to place Gladstone again in the ascendant.'

D. August 3.—'What curious things happen! Here am I, holding the Seals of the Duchy of Lancaster in addition to my own office. Just as I started this morning came a note from John Manners that he was seized with a gouty affection, and Jenner absolutely refused to let him go down, nor indeed did he feel able. Jenner sent a letter to this effect, of which I was the bearer to Osborne. When there, Peel suggested that the machinery would stop, as Shuttleworth had given up the Seals, and there was an appointment of Vice-Chancellor and other officials which must be made. In accordance with Halsbury's and Matthews's advice, I took the Seals, and signed the appointment, which I hope will turn out all right. The Queen said "Lord John will be much surprised," but I said "Not more than I was." We had a charming day for our trip, and the Solent looked its very best, with its many yachts with their white sails dotting the waves like swans. It was as smooth as a billiard table. Her Majesty was very gracious, but brief, as we had been kept by our predecessors, who did not get away as early as was hoped. We had to lie off the harbour until they came out, and we courteously raised our hats to the outgoers as they did to us. The Queen was in good humour and all went well. She noted, as I did, sorrowfully, Iddesleigh's frail appearance, but he had better

work than be idle, and Smith told me that was his doctor's opinion. Have I more to add? Only Randolph's smoking, which seems to me excessive, and must be injurious. I doubt his health, and that of Iddesleigh, much, but perhaps the strongest may prove the weakest.'

The first Cabinet was held on August 3, all fourteen members being present. The principal question settled was the date for the resumption of business by the new Parliament, which was fixed for the 19th. 'I could not help remarking how hard of hearing Iddesleigh and Churchill are, and how difficult it is to catch what the former says.' The following week was spent at Hemsted, where he had the honour of entertaining the Duchess of Teck, who had come down to open the Babies' Castle, Dr. Barnardo's new orphanage at Hawkhurst.

D. August 10.—'Yesterday was most favourable for the Babies' Castle, which was duly opened by the Princess Mary, Duchess of Teck. The opening was well attended, and really the infants were a pretty sight. Some charming children that one could hardly believe recently rescued from destitution. The building is good, and has been cheaply built and furnished. Dr. Barnardo is very unlike what I had imagined, a smart dapper little man—a rather fussy person—but he has wonderful power of raising funds, and the extent of his homes is marvellous. Hawkhurst looked very gay and had done its best. Our own village had erected an arch, and showed more demonstratively than Hawkhurst had done.'

The party went off very satisfactorily. The Princess was gracious and cordial, 'full of good-nature as she always is.' She planted a tree near the conservatory as a record of her visit which ended on August 12.

D. August 12.—'Our guests expressed themselves as charmed with their stay, and hoped to come again. The boys were especially reluctant to go, and the youngest asked Harry if I could not be persuaded to keep him, if not them, longer! H.R.H. said she had kissed the wall of her room on leaving it.'

D. August 13.—'The Cabinet sat from 3 till a good way past 5. Autumn Session negatived—Speech agreed to. . . . Salisbury made an important communication from Bismarck and Hatzfeld. Many dangers ahead. Qualities of Cabinet yet to be shown. R. C. alarming on economy.'

D. August 19.—'The Address was moved by Onslow and De Ros, two officials, as it was not fair to give beginners so poor a text for a first sermon. Argyll followed Granville's plausible pretexts for a declaration of policy, and attacked the late Government sharply, but his speech was an assortment of patterns of all shapes and sizes and colours, some striking, but many poor and dull. Carnarvon fired minute guns with much hesitation, and neither did himself nor us good; nor, I think, harm. Salisbury moved as if on ice or among eggs, but, I think, spoke safely, though I dare say unscrupulousness will find sentences to pervert.'

D. August 21.—'The general impression seems very favourable on Lord Randolph Churchill's *début* as leader. He was calm, dignified, and pointed. The Parnellites scoff, but the press, and those who heard, vindicate him.'

D. August 27.—'Randolph Churchill asked me to take the Chair of the Currency Commission, but my limited knowledge of that intricate question made me decline. A chairman should lead, and know where to go for the best information.'

He reached Balmoral on Saturday evening, August 28,

and remained there as Minister in attendance until September 10, Her Majesty having graciously requested (not commanded) that he would remain beyond the term originally fixed. Her Majesty was much disturbed by the abduction of Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, and the record of what took place and the correspondence preserved show that the duties of Minister in attendance on this occasion were peculiarly anxious and responsible. Most of it must for the present be left unrecorded; the following entries, however, indicate what a time of stress it was to all responsible for the conduct of affairs.

D. September 2.—'I came in to find a box from the Queen with a somewhat desponding letter from Randolph Churchill on the state of the House of Commons. I sent her as reassuring a note as I could, and have written to Salisbury and Smith on the subject. I doubt not after an exhausting evening he is distressed at the obstruction and delays, but he must fight it out, and not predict to the Queen "check, defeat, and disaster."'

D. September 3.—'A reassuring telegram from Smith as to R. C.'s letter that all is really going on well, but he is naturally worn out at times. The Queen sent for me late, and I was telling her how Salisbury said he was "pumped out" when she said "We all should be"—that her incessant correspondence and calls upon her time prevented her getting to bed before 2 A.M., and she could hardly keep her head above water.'

Just before leaving he received the following gracious letter from Her Majesty:

'*September 10, 1886.*

'The Queen sends for Lord Cranbrook's acceptance a photograph of Angeli's last picture of herself, which she hopes he may regard as a small souvenir of the fortnight

of great anxiety which he spent here, and when he was such a help and assistance to her. Alas! that it should have terminated so sadly! The Queen fears that she must have tried Lord Cranbrook's patience very much, but for many reasons her anxiety has been quite unusually great, and she cannot deny that her indignation and mortification at England's helpless position is very great—apart from the warm interest she feels in the dear, chivalrous, and distinguished young prince, who will fill a bright and sad page in history—indeed a very dark one. She fears he will be ill after all the terrible anxiety and sorrow.

'The Queen also sends Lord Cranbrook photographs of her dear little grandchildren who are left in her charge.'

D. September 10.—'Last dinner with the Queen, after a drive to Invercauld with Bridport, and Miss Cochrane, who is good company. I sat next to Her Majesty. Afterwards had a longish talk—most kindly—and kissed her hand on leaving. She had sent me her portrait before dinner. I thanked her for it and her note, which gave too great value to my services. So all ends here. I must say everyone is most friendly and make the visit as pleasant as they can.'

During this period he had been made anxious by the serious illnesses of his daughter-in-law, the present Lady Cranbrook, and of his nephew, my eldest son. His frequent allusions to every scrap of news on the subject show how much he linked himself with all branches of his family. The moment his attendance at Balmoral had come to an end he put off all his other visits, and hastened home, merely breaking the journey at Glen Tana. He soon found anxious questions agitating the Cabinet, and it will be seen that he regarded the course of his brilliant young colleague, the new Leader in the Commons, with apprehension. The health of the latter was doubtless

suffering from the strain of his severe work and anxiety. Lord Salisbury mentions in a letter received by my father at Balmoral 'he has been overworked and knocked up. On Wednesday his pulse was 104.'

D. September 23.—'I was up for a Cabinet held in R. C.'s room in the House. Settled the empty Speech, attuning a phrase or two to meet the Chancellor of the Exchequer's wishes. He has a will of his own, and I cannot doubt that discussions of a momentous character are at hand.'

The next entry quoted is on his birthday, when it will be seen that he alludes thankfully to the improvement in the health of the two invalids before referred to.

D. October 1.—'A brilliant morning greets me; and what love from all sides! Cicy writes herself, a sure sign of advance. How strange it seems to be 72, and yet, thank God, not to feel the pressure of years! I have seldom felt better in general health, and indeed what blessings have I not. Geoffrey will, I hope, soon be restored. God bless us all the coming year!'

D. November 20.—'Balfour for the first time joined the Cabinet—a useful accession—especially as representing Scotland. We discussed County Government.'

D. November 23.—'The Cabinet yesterday was not satisfactory, and revealed more difference on County Government than the last. . . . Salisbury should lead more. I am thinking of writing to him. A conversation with Smith, and J. Manners, separately, shows that distrust is entering minds besides my own. We must face the position of democracy if we take up County and Local Government, and we ought to deal with Local Taxation, though Randolph Churchill objects.'

The following letters then passed between him and Lord Salisbury:

Cranbrook to Salisbury.

'*Confidential.*

'*November 23.*

'MY DEAR SALISBURY

'Our last two Cabinets have alarmed me lest there should be a breakdown on the point of Local Government, and so an opening made for anti-union policy which we were formed to counteract. The differences of opinion are so marked that one can scarcely hope for the construction of a measure which will redeem our pledges on the subject, and find sufficient support in the House of Commons. I am afraid that the constituencies of the new County Government must be at least as democratic as the Parliamentary franchise, nor, on the whole, am I inclined to fear the result. Those who are elected must be persons of leisure and means, and they will have interests to protect as well as electors to gratify. I doubt if any adequate restrictions could be suggested, or, if suggested, carried. At the same time I admit the justice, if not the expediency, of infusing the influence of property directly, and would assent to any proposition which you on consideration might deem advisable. It is indeed to you I look to harmonise our views and bring about liberty of action. You must forgive me for saying you have too much self-renunciation for a Prime Minister, and that you have rights which you forego in guiding our deliberations. Interrogated separately each expresses an opinion; but all would be prepared to make concessions and, without sacrifice of any great principle, to combine in the production of the best of which circumstances admit. If you were to make a statement on a review of what has passed defining your opinion, and asking our

assent to a plan for *Local Government and Local Finance* I am confident you would obtain almost if not quite unanimous support. My great desire is that we should not fall to pieces, and destroy the last, best, chance of sound imperial policy, not, I can assure you, from any personal love of office, of which I have had my full share. The position requires your distinct lead and your just self-assertion.

'I hope you will not think this letter intrusive, but I am so convinced of the gravity of our condition that I cannot remain silent.

'Yours always sincerely,

'CRANBROOK.'

Salisbury to Cranbrook.

'*Private and Confidential.*

'*November 26.*

'MY DEAR CRANBROOK

'Many thanks for your letter. What you call my "self-renunciation" is merely an effort to deal with an abnormal, and very difficult, state of things. It arises from the peculiarities of Churchill. Beach having absolutely refused to lead, Churchill is the only possible leader in the Commons, as his ability is unquestionable. But he is wholly out of sympathy with the rest of the Cabinet: and being besides of a wayward and headstrong disposition, he is far from mitigating his resistance by the method of it. As his office of Leader of the House gives him a claim to be heard on every question, the machine is moving along with the utmost friction both in home and foreign affairs. My self-renunciation is only an attempt—a vain attempt—to pour oil upon the creaking and groaning machine. Like you, I am penetrated with a sense of the danger which the collapse of our Government would bring

about, otherwise I should not have undertaken, or should have quickly abandoned, the task of leading an orchestra in which the first fiddle plays one tune, and everybody else, including myself, wishes to play another. I am in some despair about the present difficulty. I am to see Hartington to-morrow evening, and will try whether some *modus vivendi* can be arranged. I feel deeply the danger of trusting the administration of the Poor Law to an electorate, to which never, in town or country, it has been entrusted before; and which consists of a majority of men whose interest it is that the administration should be lax and costly. Perhaps we may discover some security, but "there is nothing less secure than a security." It seems to me, look at it how you will, rather like leaving the cat in charge of the cream jug. My idea of getting round the difficulty was to put off the Poor Law part of it till 1888, and by that time many things may have happened, and at all events we shall know more of the feelings of our own party. But I have no doubt that on this point, of taking the whole organisation together, Churchill has the Unionists with him, which aggravates one's difficulties considerably.

'Ever yours very truly,

'SALISBURY.'

D. November 27.—'I must not forget Salisbury's most friendly reply to my letter, in which he says that he does all he can to make a *modus vivendi* with Churchill, who is not in harmony with him in the Cabinet. We cannot go on as we have been doing in the last two Cabinets. Good cannot come of such confusion, and I expect all feel it.'

D. December 12.—'My rent audit came off, and there is an increase of arrears. All appeared to hope for "protection" —no use at least for present distress, and I do not believe in it

for the future. I simply told them there was no prospect of it, without argument. There was a large attendance.'

D. December 18.—'Our Cabinet. Samoa, we gave a free hand to Iddesleigh. Then the Budget, a daring conception. I must think well before I decide on its merits and its prospects. R. C. shows plenty of ability.'

D. December 23.—'We shot Reid Wood, the day very pleasant, sport moderate. On coming in, to my amazement saw Randolph Churchill's resignation announced in the *Times*, and two leading articles on the subject, so they must have known the evening before. Estimates for Army and Navy said to be the cause, but one cannot help feeling that the excessive friction on other points has influenced him. At present his conduct seems to me to be indefensible, and most injurious to the country. It is indeed apparently an attempt to throw everything into confusion just as Parliament is to meet. I have no particulars this morning, but thought it right to send a sympathetic note to Salisbury. Out or in, I only want to help him in a difficulty, and would gladly make way for any new arrangement. He must, I think, appeal to Hartington, who would perhaps act more readily if R. C. were out of it. But I will not be prophetic. At present I see no adequate Leader for the House of Commons on our side, and I fear that our adversaries will be crowing over us, and preparing for a new dissolution. If we break up, what front can we present? Yet I should be sorry to think that our future depended upon R. C.'

Cranbrook to Salisbury.

'*Private.*

'*December 23.*

'MY DEAR SALISBURY

'I thought Randolph Churchill could not astonish me, but the announcement in the *Times* is thunder from a

clear sky. There has been much to create uneasiness at the Cabinets, but I imagined that finance was not likely to be the cause of disruption. It is an insufficient one in the circumstances, for nothing but a question of deep principle should have brought about a state of affairs which may lead to the disruption of the Empire. I do not, of course, know what plans you may be thinking of, but I will again repeat what you know, that my place is at any time at your disposal for the public good, and that my chief desire is to be useful to you in any way that I reasonably can. When I know more I may have more to say.

'Yours very sincerely,

'CRANBROOK.'

Salisbury to Cranbrook.

'*Private.*

'*Christmas Day.*

'MY DEAR CRANBROOK

'I have been so "put about" by the coincidence of a Christmas Ball week with a Ministerial crisis that I have not been able to write to you before. R. C. had informed me on Tuesday week that I must get either a new Chancellor of the Exchequer or a new War Minister, for that Smith would not bring his Estimates below those of last year, and he (R. C.) would not be responsible for finance unless a very substantial reduction was made in them. I saw him on Thursday week and did my best to persuade him: but he not only persisted, but refused to bring the matter before the Cabinet. On Monday he saw Smith, had a long discussion with him, and then went down to Windsor with Hamilton and had a long discussion with him, and then wrote me a letter from Windsor resigning on this ground. He mentioned no other. I answered, arguing with him, on

Wednesday, and received that night, at one in the morning, his letter definitely resigning. The next morning it was in the *Times*. In that last letter, but in no other, he said something about his dissatisfaction with our legislative programme, and with our foreign policy. I give you this detail, because, owing to his persistence in not appealing to the Cabinet, the affair had a more hurried look than the reality justified.

'As to the future it is evident that our existence will be precarious unless we can strengthen our front bench in the House of Commons. I have written to Hartington, merely generally, to ascertain what his views are as to a junction and telling him that individually my views are what they were in July. But I have spoken for myself alone. We must have a Cabinet on Tuesday to settle about the meeting of Parliament. It will be quite impossible now to be ready for the 13th, and it was entirely a fancy of R. C.'s. Will it be possible for you to have a Council at Windsor on Wednesday morning before the Queen goes, in order further to prorogue Parliament? But I suppose the formal prorogation will do as well a fortnight hence.

'Yours very truly,

'SALISBURY.'

D. December 25. Christmas Day.—'The last I saw of our ex-colleague was at the Carlton after the Cabinet, when I said a few words on my hesitating about a proposition he had made in his Budget. He said that he had been surprised that there had not been much more hesitation, and that he never expected so much acceptance as he had met with. That was a week ago, and then he gave no sign of such difference with us as to make him think of retiring. Still he has so high an opinion of his judgment in political

matters, and is so imperious, that opposition rouses his temper not always under control. When I wrote to Salisbury I saw that he meant to be master if he could, and called on Salisbury to assert himself. Whether the change was made (as I think it was), and felt, I do not absolutely know, but I can hardly believe that a Chancellor of the Exchequer could, in the present position of affairs, resign only on the details of demands by two departments.

'3.45. Smith, while he confirms R. C.'s account of the proximate cause of his secession, adds a confirmation of my own view. The real truth, I think, is that it is not possible for him to yield his opinion, or mould it so as to co-operate with his colleagues. He must rule, and War Estimates have only been a pretext.'

D. December 29.—'Our Cabinet was not long, and no lamentations were wasted over R. C. His conduct has disgusted all, and none of his near friends approve. His family is said to be much troubled. Gibson alone talked to me of approaching him and bringing him back, but that is out of the question. Beach alone spoke of resignation as a means of forcing the hands of the Unionists if they held aloof; all the rest, and Salisbury in particular, feel the point of honour due to the party and the country not to throw up the sponge because one man leaves us. No news of Hartington, probably because foreign telegraphs are injured like our own' (there had been a tremendous snow-storm), 'so we must wait a day or two for real news. We approved of Salisbury's approaches to him—a difference as to his being First Minister. I doubt his acceptance at all. Goschen, Salisbury thought, might accept.'

CHAPTER XXX

THE RECONSTRUCTED SALISBURY GOVERNMENT (1887)

THE Council at Osborne was held on the last day of 1886. As the fact of Her Majesty's displeasure at the method of Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation is already public property, I may perhaps be permitted to quote my father's record of her conversation on the subject. Lord Randolph's own explanatory letter of January 13, 1887, and the reply are given in Mr. Winston Churchill's Life, vol. ii. p. 268.

D. January 1, 1887.—'The Queen was full of R. C.'s strange action. He had dined with her at Windsor on the Monday, and she, referring to the nearness of Parliament, condoled with him "as he had been so tired in the last." He replied sharply that he had never been tired—"but that Smith had"—rather a curious addition. He sat up late with Prince Alexander, and, without a hint to anyone, wrote his resignation on Windsor paper. She naturally resents such disrespect to herself, thinks she ought not to have heard through the *Times*, for in fact she had information from that paper a few minutes before the telegram from Salisbury arrived. She thought him gloomy at his last visit. The Queen was not keen for a coalition. She was very animated. Just before my leaving her she began a new subject—the remission of sentences for wife murder, and the advice of judges on which it was founded. I vindicated the Home Office in such cases. She said "They talk of aggravation, but if a woman dances round her

husband, and abuses him, that is hardly a justification for cutting her throat." '

D. January 3.—' Salisbury sends me a full account of his negotiations with Hartington, which were over soon and decisively. Coalition in any form would deprive him of all influence he retains, and remove checks from Liberal extremists in the future. However, he encouraged Goschen's accession, agreeing with Salisbury that his present position is untenable, and an offer is now before him, and, as he adjourned his answer from Saturday until to-day, he may be considering it. Salisbury proposed, if they would assent, to include Selborne, and Northbrook, as he knew his friends would make way for them. I do not know to whom he alludes, but I, for one, would. We must wait, and shall learn more at the Cabinet to-morrow.'

D. January 4.—' A telegram last evening deferred the Cabinet until Saturday, and it is as well, for a storm of wind and rain that lasted far into the night has been followed by a steady snow-fall, still going on, the fourth fall this winter. No letter from Salisbury, but the *Globe* states on authority that Goschen, after long interviews with Salisbury and Hartington, has accepted the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, so I am his colleague among the wonders of my life. I hope we may easily act with cordiality together, unless my place be wanted for a Liberal Unionist. That does not seem to be intended, as I am called to the Cabinet, and the dinner on the 26th.'

The correspondence and entries which follow next deal with a painful and deplorable event, which my father felt deeply: the sudden death of his old friend Lord Iddesleigh, which took place actually in the Foreign Office, at the very moment of his ceasing to be Chief of that department.

My father had written to Lord Salisbury to suggest that his own place should be given to Lord Iddesleigh on his retirement from the Foreign Office. His letter of the 10th, given below, must have been one of the last he wrote. It will be seen that it fell to my father's lot to be present almost at the moment of his death.

D. January 9.—'The papers more than hint that Iddesleigh has been ill used, and of course make a handle of him. I am out of the way of hearing details, but can hardly believe that Salisbury would in any way wrong him, having upheld him against R. C. What gives colour to the invidious rumour is the delay in filling the Colonies.'

Salisbury to Cranbrook.

'*Private.*

'*January 10.*

'I am sorry to say I have wholly failed to induce Iddesleigh to join the Government in any other capacity than as Foreign Secretary, and from that office the inclusion of Goschen necessarily excludes him. For Goschen will not be Leader, therefore Smith must. Smith cannot work War Office and Leadership together; therefore he must have my office. I cannot be left without an office, therefore I must go to the Foreign Office. I am afraid he feels hurt, but he had, when I was negotiating with Hartington, told me "He was only too ready to make way if I wanted his office for any combination." Taking advantage of your kind offer I have pressed on him the office of President. I should in that case have tried to prevail on you to take the Colonies, but he has refused to take *any* office: so I have this afternoon offered the Colonies to Holland, who has accepted it.'

D. January 11.—'Smith confirms Iddesleigh's determination to take no office, and I suppose there has been

some not intended affront. I am bound to say his work at the Foreign Office seems to have been good, and, as I predicted, his health improved with it. Smith hears, however, of his having fainted at Exeter the other day. I am grieved that he should leave office with the idea of being slighted. The papers take up his case warmly. . . . When Smith covenanted for freedom from the War Office in order to lead, there was nothing for it but to make him First Lord, and then the Prime Minister needed a place. What but Foreign Affairs could he take? I am truly sorry Iddesleigh should not go out with flying colours, for he has served party and country faithfully and well.'

Iddesleigh to Cranbrook.

'*Private.*

'*January 10.*

'MY DEAR CRANBROOK

'I do not know if you understand our position better than I do. It puzzles me, and I am rather afraid of getting into a mess. Soon after our last Cabinet, while the Hartington negotiations were going on, I said in a letter to Salisbury, that if he wanted seats in the Cabinet to offer to Liberals I should be only too happy to give up my own. Last Tuesday, when I went into Exeter, I found that news had come from London that I had resigned, and that my resignation had been accepted. Having heard nothing from Salisbury I was hard put to it how I was to answer questions; however, I got through somehow; and late in the afternoon I got a telegram that Goschen joined, but Smith was to lead, so that he must give up the War Office, that he was to have the Treasury, and that Salisbury would divest himself of that office and take refuge in the Foreign Office.

He must therefore avail himself of my offer, which, he said, he regretted to be obliged to do as it would separate us at least for a time. I had a letter to the same effect the next morning, and wrote in reply that, though I regretted leaving the Foreign Office, I cheerfully accepted his decision. I regarded this as a termination of my connection with the Cabinet. But while my letter was still on its way to the Prime Minister I received a telegram asking me if I would take the Presidency of the Council. I telegraphed back a negative. I then received a letter pressing me to reconsider my answer, but reconsideration only confirmed me in the opinion that I ought not to accept the proposal, and I have given another answer to the same effect as the first. One thing has struck me as strange, that in neither of these communications has there been any reference to the office in question being already filled; I have been wondering whether you had been communicated with, and what the whole thing means. I write this line to tell you how the matter stands with me, and to say that at all events I have not been trying to get the office, but on the contrary am quite sure that it will be pleasanter for me, and better for the country, that it should remain as it is.

'I am going up to town to-morrow. I suppose I shall have to go down to give up the seals at Osborne on Thursday, but I have had no summons.

'I remain,

'Yours very faithfully,

'IDDESLEIGH.'

D. January 12.—'My last words look strange in presence of the event of this afternoon. About 3 o'clock Walter Lennox rushed into my room bringing back a note I had written to Salisbury unanswered, as he said Lord Iddesleigh

had been seized with a fit which he fancied epileptic, and three doctors were with him. He looked so horrified that I at once feared the worst, and at 3.30 he returned with the sad news that all was over. Shortly afterwards I was sent for by Salisbury, and found him alone, but deeply grieved. Eric Barrington took me to the adjoining room where Iddesleigh lay in his ordinary dress, as if asleep on the sofa. His countenance was calm and peaceful, and there were none of the terrors of death visible either in distortions or any unusual position of the limbs. He had fallen asleep just after taking leave of Fergusson, who assured me that he was in good spirits, talking only of a temporary separation, and was on his way, after a short interview with Salisbury, to speak at the Mansion House for the Imperial Institute. Perhaps there may have been some emotion, but probably the too rapid ascent of the stairs interfered with the action of the heart—a faint, and no recovery. He had fainted in the Office of the Clerk of the Peace at Exeter last week, but the heart resumed its functions. Dr. Mortimer Granville, his regular medical attendant who was there, will report his medical opinion to the papers, and, as he told me, not express surprise at the sudden end. The disease has long existed, and its fatal termination might have been long deferred, but might come at any moment. All his family, he said, were aware of the danger, as he had warned them.

'The morning's post had brought me a letter from Iddesleigh informing me of what had passed between him and Salisbury, and expressing wonder whether I had been communicated with while my office was twice offered to him. I replied, after coming to town, that Salisbury was justified by my giving him perfect liberty of action as to myself, and that he had not communicated with me until after he (Iddesleigh) had declined, when he informed me

what he should have proposed to me had my present post been occupied by Iddesleigh. I expressed my regret that as we had entered official life together, we had not gone on together, and indeed wrote, as I felt, most kindly, assuring him that no slight could have been intended. . . . I cannot help fancying that the press publishing his resignation before it had been specifically proffered was the main ground of offence, though certainly Salisbury was in no way responsible. Again it looks as if he had scruples about taking an office which I was holding, from the delicacy of feeling which always actuated him. Perhaps this may never be known. How Iddesleigh was doing his work I can only judge by his telegrams &c., which showed a steady continuity of purpose and accord with what one expected. On this I may probably hear more from those who worked with him. General sorrow will be felt, as he was a high-minded gentleman, courteous to all, and without a personal enemy. I fancy he would have clung closer to the Cabinet after R. C.'s secession, as he had no sympathy from the late Chancellor of the Exchequer. Amidst all the negotiations, changes, ambitions, how this tells us what shadows we are and what shadows we pursue!'

H. S. Northcote (now Lord Northcote) to Cranbrook.

'*January 13.*

'DEAR LORD CRANBROOK

'Thank you very much for your kind letter which I showed to Lady Iddesleigh. She was deeply touched by your kind recollection of your old colleague and friend.

'You were the last of his political friends whose name he mentioned in conversing with myself, and he spoke of you in terms as warm and kindly as you apply to him. . . .

'Yours very truly,

'H. S. NORTHCOTE.'

D. January 13.—'Peel came in as I was dressing with a telegram from Edwards. "The Queen is dreadfully shocked and grieved at this sad news, and would wish the Council postponed till Friday." All has, of course, been arranged accordingly. I dined with Smith at the Wellington, and we had a good deal of interesting talk. We had both been struck with R. C.'s very cold reception of our advances at the Carlton, and yet, so far as I am concerned, I have hardly been brought into any collision with him. I fear that his unguarded temper will lead him into dangerous action.'

D. January 14.—'Smith, Goschen, Stanhope, Holland, Peel, and self were off at 9.30 this morning for Osborne, and had a very fair and rapid journey, comfortable in fur coats, for white frost hung on the trees we ran by. The Solent was calm, and the chilly air drove all but Smith and myself from the deck. We found Salisbury awaiting us at Osborne. The Queen spoke to me principally about Iddesleigh with much regard. Goschen was not looking well, but animated and full of pluck. He has often been disquieted at Gladstone's ambiguous language, and had tried to bring him to an "aye or no" in vain. He believes in the germ working in his mind. He told us a story of Lord Bessborough coming out of a long interview with Gladstone in 1870 saying "I believe he is capable of repealing the Union."'

D. January 17.—'Alfred Austin presses me to write an article on Iddesleigh for the February number of the *National Review*. I have put down ideas but felt that I could not interest the public, or please myself. One cannot reveal history yet. On Tuesday I went up by early train. The funeral ceremony at Westminster Abbey was attended by all classes and parties, and was worthy of the occasion. I have seldom been at a more impressive and touching

service. The music was solemn, and appropriate, and beautifully rendered. All appeared to feel. At Austin's renewed wish I put my pen to paper—after breakfast yesterday, and wrote some few pages, begging him to deal critically, and burn them if not what he desired. I thought them not up to the mark, and was too hurried to improve.'

I do not reproduce the short article which appeared in the February number of the *Review*. It would have given my father pleasure to know that his appreciation of Lord Iddesleigh was greatly valued by his family, and preserved by Lady Iddesleigh, who sent me her copy for reference in 1907.

D. January 24.—'Eric (Barrington) showed me Iddesleigh's last letter where the grievance appears more clearly. He felt the imputation of failing health, and an office without work. Curious! so few days before his death! After all, what failed was clearness of communication. It is a pity that he was not soothed by the offer of the Colonies. Would not the whole thing have been better? . . . John Manners—Colonies; Smith—Chancellor of the Duchy; Cadogan—Foreign Office; Salisbury—First Lord, when Iddesleigh declined? Perhaps I am a bad judge.'

A Council was held at Osborne on the 25th when Sir William Dyke, Sir James Fergusson, and Mr. Macnaghten (now Lord Macnaghten) were sworn of the Privy Council. My father had a long interview with Her Majesty, who was very anxious about the condition of Foreign Affairs, and apprehensive of Bismarck's designs against France. There was a rumour, which happily turned out to be unfounded, that Germany was demanding from France the removal of Boulanger, an interference with her internal affairs which no nation could submit to. 'Now I hope we may rest awhile

from Councils, and, as she will be at Windsor by the 19th, have the next there.'

He was dissatisfied with Lord Randolph's explanation of the cause of his resignation, and resented his imputing to his colleagues a 'foreign policy which has no existence, and of which he gives no tittle of evidence.'

D. January 28.—'Above all, what right has a Minister to assume that all his colleagues are adverse, without giving them even the opportunity of learning the difficulties which are pressing on his mind? The fact is, that he was a growing rival of the Prime Minister, and wished to wrest the lead from him. I am more and more convinced that my letter to Salisbury to assert himself was right and necessary.'

From this point the Ministerial course becomes smoother, and the political extracts from the Diary will be less numerous. The 'forgotten' Goschen proved a tower of strength to the Ministry, and my father notes that 'Smith's good sense, good humour, and firmness win universal praise.' As to his own influence in the councils of the party I am permitted to quote the following letter from his colleague Lord Knutsford, who has been kind enough to assist me by perusing the extracts from the Diary, and advising me as to their use. He writes (July 3, 1908):

'No one can read Lord Cranbrook's Diaries without being struck, as I was, at the great and constant reliance placed on his judgment and advice by his colleagues in the Cabinet, and notably by his leaders, Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury. I can testify to the fact, so far at least as Lord Salisbury is concerned, by what I have seen take place several times when I was a member of the Cabinet (1887 to 1892). Lord Cranbrook sat next to Lord Salisbury on his left hand, and I sat next to Lord Cranbrook, so that I had a full opportunity of seeing what passed between them. A question would come up before the Cabinet upon

which considerable diversity of opinion existed. Discussion would take place, and after it had lasted for some time I have seen Lord S. push a piece of paper to Lord C. as if to invite him to write down his views, or suggestions as to how best to deal with the subject under discussion. Your father would write down his views, and return the paper to Lord S. Shortly afterwards Lord S. would intervene in the discussion, and, reading from the paper, would ask whether such and such a course would meet the case: and I may add that in several instances that course was adopted, either in its entirety or with slight modifications. It may interest you to receive this confirmation of the trust reposed in your father.'

D. March 1.—'I had a talk yesterday with Goschen about Ireland, about which we agree, and grieve over our necessarily slow movement. He had seen ——, who spoke more hesitatingly of our bill, though its points—special juries, change of venue, and summary jurisdiction—even Bright, in conversation with Goschen, thought needful, and "could not be opposed even by Gladstonians." Bright gives clear precedence to the great question, and his letters are clear and without mistake.'

D. March 3.—'My Sheriff dinner was pleasant enough. After dinner I had some talk with Salisbury and Goschen about Ireland, which gives our minds much thought. I had been much struck by Beach's appearance, and S. told me that he was quite broken down, and his doctor insists on his giving up; so that I expect that at the Cabinet to-day we shall hear of change. Balfour is to take up the fearful task, which becomes almost impossible with so strong a British party to thwart all plans of firm government. We must try for stronger measures, and if we fail, we fall honourably.'

D. March 6.—'Before the Cabinet Salisbury put into

our hands the medical report on Beach, which was distressing. We were all deeply grieved, but what pluck he has shown fighting so gallantly in adverse circumstances! . . . Before we broke up I took on myself, as eldest of the Cabinet, and having been much associated with Beach, to say a few words on our regret at losing him, and our hopes for him, and it was clear that what I said was welcome to all, and he wrung my hand with a word of thanks, which proved that it gratified him. Poor fellow! God speed his recovery of health and sight!'

D. March 7.—'Just back from Windsor, a Council and pricking sheriffs. The Queen gave me a long interview after the presentation, and was very cheerful and hearty. She spoke of Beach, to whom I think she will write, and I assured her that such a step would be a comfort to him. She told me Gladstone and Morley were coming down on Wednesday. "If," she added, "the former will; as he will probably send excuses as he always did when in office. He never dined with me during his last official life." She spoke of things getting out, but attributed more to guess than betrayal. When I heard that it was the intention to put Balfour in Beach's place (which had got out) I was not surprised, as that had been mentioned to many. In many cases the mixture of falsehood with a little truth proves that chance has more to do with that small infusion than treachery. She said that some wives were told—Lady Beaconsfield had told her that she neither knew nor wished to know—Cabinet secrets. I omit a good deal, for she was very free and earnest in her conversation, not by any means concealing her inclinations and disinclinations. I should mention the warm terms in which she spoke of Balfour, his cleverness, and pleasant manners, hoping that he would have help, and not be overworked.'

The next references are to the notorious 'facsimile letter' published in the *Times*, and to the proceedings in the House of Commons. My father did not approve of Sir G. Lewis's action in raising the question in the Commons as one of privilege.

D. April 18.—'The *Times* gives publicity to a facsimile of a note of Parnell's approving the murder of Burke—not the "accident" to Lord Frederick Cavendish. It will raise a pretty storm after the scandalous scenes of Tuesday night.'

D. May 4.—'Sir G. Lewis has done his best to impede the Crimes Bill and waste time, under the pretence of defending the honour of the House. Surely those attacked might be left to defend themselves, while he offers the worst possible form of due enquiry. It must be limited to privilege—the article impugned is but a fragment of charges which have been long left unanswered, and it is more than doubtful if they can be brought into the investigation. But in any case such a wanton interference without consulting the heads of the Government is most discreditable.'

The next references are to the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee.

D. June 18.—'I had to attend a Council at Windsor yesterday. Her Majesty was very gracious, but rather annoyed at the department which had rendered necessary our coming on the day of her return from Balmoral after a hot journey, for, she said, it was hotter in Scotland than here. She rather dreads the impending ceremonies, especially those which involve much standing, as her knees tire her, and in hot weather her ankles swell. She is, however, clearly pleased with the extraordinary demonstrations, which

are indeed remarkable. The scene in London increases in excitement daily, and the crowds are great.'

D. June 21.—'We have been at home about an hour, all satisfied with what we have seen and heard. The scene in the Abbey was most impressive, and, when one thinks how all parts of the world have sent their quota of representatives, royal and other, to the assembly, imagination greatly colours the facts. Jane and I were admirably placed next to the Chancellor and Lady Halsbury, and had not the enclosure been so high, as if to screen the Queen from observation, we should have had no drawback. Lady Salisbury said she should like to hang the man who put it up—probably the Dean—who would make a vacancy! yet poor Salisbury, with his list of honours to-day, has no doubt a background of reproach and indignation which must make patronage odious to him. London was wild with excitement, and yesterday locomotion was very difficult.'

D. June 26.—'Yesterday afternoon I joined the Duchess of Westminster's party. What a lovely house she has! The Duke welcomed me very warmly. Kings and Royalties followed in due course, but the centre of attraction was "Ormonde" (the Derby winner), who was led about the lawn for admiration, and, I suppose, has all the best points of a racer. To me his admirable temper and tranquil manners were a charm. At 7.20 I was off from Paddington in full dress with Salisbury, Halsbury, wives, &c.; Kings, ambassadors, &c., in other carriages. There was a grand gathering and a most stately banquet, nobly prepared in St. George's Hall. The great rooms were evidently much admired, and it seems admitted that England's Queen has acquitted herself befittingly to the Sovereign of a great nation. She has been deeply moved by her people's manifestation of loyal attachment, and feels no fatigue. Her

bearing was dignified and winning, and she had a smile for everyone. There was a concert after dinner, so we did not get away at the time proposed. Certainly Windsor affords place and material for so splendid an entertainment, which the Dean of Windsor said exceeded anything done since the Prince Consort's death.'

D. July 16.—'I must not omit Salisbury's telling me of a talk with Goschen on reconstruction. He did not appear to think any plan suggested feasible or likely, and naturally did not see his way to acting with Chamberlain, though Hartington and James would not be unacceptable. From Smith I learn that Chamberlain set this rolling, but he did not know details. He thinks that to keep together we must submit to temporary abatement of rent, as some of our people are unsound. I ask myself, do I believe in the efficacy of this, even as a temporary expedient? and the answer is negative. Ought I then to agree, even in the present critical condition of things?'

D. July 20.—'A Cabinet at 12 to consider our course on the Land Bill. Our decision seemed inevitable, and not more unsatisfactory than the Bill generally. We submitted rather than approved. Salisbury stated the case clearly at the meeting of the party, and carried the assembled Peers and M.P.s, except Kilmorey and Col. Saunderson. Some things I heard at the Cabinet to-day make me fearful that our departure from the resolution not to touch judicial rents may lead to terrible consequences. I had misgivings; but Irish valuers were not clearly before my mind, and their misty minds may easily lead them to misunderstand their tasks. I spoke my mind, but perhaps too late, and told Salisbury that nothing but loyalty to him, and the Union, kept me a party to such legislation. The Liberal Unionists must not drag us too far, or we may

swamp principles as precious as the Union. Can one feel any security that the Act and its effects will be temporary, or that we or others will be able to resist the extension of concessions inexcusable already but for the deplorable consequences of 1881?'

D. August 11.—'My new guns look promising, but when are they to be handled in the field? The day ended with the Ministerial banquet; an imposing sight. Salisbury was warmly applauded. Lady S., next to whom I sat, was satisfied about his health, and did not think much of the eczema, though anxious that he should have his three weeks at Royat. He loves the Foreign Office, and would gladly have a Prime Minister over him, but not give *it* up. He abhors patronage and its exhibition of littlenesses. His speech was weighty and powerful, and gave no uncertain indication of the impending proclamation, which will lengthen the Session. Ashbourne expressed himself in favour of it, as I have been; or rather have seen no safe and honourable way out of the duty of issuing it. We have always said that the Queen's Government was in abeyance, and another supreme. The time to combat it has come, and "noblesse oblige" to fulfil our obligations to the loyal, and to encourage the reluctant thralls of the National League to emancipate themselves.'

He reached Castle Newe, the seat of Sir Charles Forbes in Aberdeenshire, which he had taken for the season, on August 20. Many of the family visited him there, and many friends were also his guests. I need not dwell on the smooth course of his much-valued holiday, unbroken except the Council held at Balmoral to prorogue Parliament after the long and arduous session.

D. September 16.—'I had a rather dismal drive to Balmoral, where I arrived in three hours, cold, and ready for tea

and fire. I dined with the Queen. I sat next to Her Majesty. We had our talk then, and I never saw her looking better or more active in thought and conversation. All had gone well with the Prorogation, and the end had come at last, and our Council, with Lord Cadogan and Fife, duly came off yesterday, and to-day the recess will begin. I had an interview before it, discussing many things—Ayoob, Dhuleep Singh, &c. She spoke compassionately of the latter, and with much feeling—feared she had not looked enough after him. Of the Czar she spoke too. To me she was, as usual, very affable and frank: and I always feel she treats me as a friend.'

He left Newe at the end of September, and visited Lowmoor, where he arrived on October 1, his seventy-third birthday. He spent two or three days in that neighbourhood, opening schools, and making a few unimportant speeches. The following unsolicited testimonial to the youthfulness of his appearance may be noted.

D. October 4.—'I was much amused yesterday by a visit from an old respectable man from Clayton, born in 1814—my year. He had read my speeches, and they suited him, and he had a sneaking regard for me and wanted to shake hands. He looked long and earnestly at me, and then, turning to Lawrence, said "He looks a deal better than me, and not more than sixty."'

He ended his Yorkshire visit with a great meeting in St. George's Hall, Bradford, where he addressed a vast audience. At the end of the month he also addressed a great meeting at Glasgow, his first political visit to the capital of the West of Scotland.

D. October 29.—'At Glasgow heavy rain was falling and it was stewy. The Lord Provost, Sir James King, was

my host, and I found old friends to meet me—Lothian—Dalrymple—Orr-Ewing—the Lord Advocate, and others. I was wonderfully little tired, but the night was hot, and I became restless and headachy, and awoke far from "fit." Nor was our morning's work calculated to improve my condition, visiting the Conference of Conservative Associations, where I said a few words, then exploring the noble Cathedral, the Royal Exchange, and the new municipal buildings. By dinner time at the Conservative Club I was nearly myself. Simple food, and a glass of good wine restored me further, and I faced my vast audience comfortably, and had a wonderful reception. I spoke an hour and a half—too long for my successors—but had to leave much unsaid. I was before a sympathetic audience, that took up points well, and became very enthusiastic. If I am to believe the many that spoke to me afterwards, I had said rightly the right thing. Wingfield Malcolm was warm in praise, and the Provost flattered me by saying he would have gone as far to hear as I had come to deliver. William Blackwood wrote to me sending an early copy of his magazine to the same effect as others. So far so good. I distrusted myself, but was upheld, and memory served me well. There was a very representative gathering on the platform, and the great room was entirely filled. I left here yesterday at 10, was favoured with a solitary coupé, got some tea at the Athenæum, and was here (at Hemsted) at 12.20, not feeling fatigued. How thankful should I be for such health and strength!'

He visited Osborne for a Council on the 29th.

D. December 30.—'I had a long talk with Paget (Sir Augustus), who was much annoyed at Randolph's proceedings. He has been telling De Staal that Russia may do what she

pleases with Austria—"it is no concern of ours"—and much more to the same effect. I hope they do not take him seriously. He is just as likely, perhaps more likely, to change his tone and revert to former views, than to maintain his present views, based clearly upon his economical mania. He would reduce the Army, &c. I hope he will not have the opportunity to do so. Still he is a danger, and has a following, though diminished.'

D. December 31.—'So we come to the end of the year, and on the whole what have we but blessings to recount? Of public affairs it is not easy to speak. So far as I can judge, Union principles have held their ground, and I doubt if Gladstone's escapades have not alienated some of his followers, though they may not care to say so. But the task of the Government is difficult, and the United Separatists of England and Ireland throw enormous difficulties in our way. Perseverance, firmness, and fairness ought to win.'

CHAPTER XXXI

THE GOLDEN WEDDING (1888)

THE year that followed that of the Queen's Jubilee was an important one in the annals of our family, as it was the fiftieth anniversary of my father's happy marriage. I may note a very few political comments before March 29, the date of the wedding. On February 24 he records the belated termination of the debate on the Address, and notes his admiration of Balfour's 'readiness, knowledge, firmness, and general vigour in meeting all attacks.' On March 29 he describes a visit from Mr. W. H. Smith about the Church Patronage Bill, when the latter spoke of the possibility of Lord Randolph Churchill's return to the Government in succession to a colleague, who, as he thought, desired a Colonial appointment. On the same day he makes a prophetic reference to the abortive attempt to tax horses and wheels: 'Goschen's Budget speech was very much admired, but I think some of his duties will encounter opposition. Horses and wheels I never liked myself.'

D. March 25.—'On getting to my office I was followed by Smith to tell me that my colleagues had subscribed for a present for our Golden Wedding and wished to know how I would like the sum to be laid out, suggesting a picture of Lady Cranbrook. This I knew that she would not sit for, but I let it stand over until I had seen her, and found that she was steadfast in that mind. It gratifies me much to find such kindliness in those with whom I have acted so long.'

The Cabinet gift eventually took the form of a magnificent silver gilt bowl, which with the numerous other gifts which poured in from all quarters was made an heirloom by the last Will of the recipient. Her Majesty the Queen sent a marble bust of herself with an autograph letter of congratulation. A vast number of letters and telegrams are preserved, in a packet endorsed in my father's hand, 'Golden Wedding, March 29, 1888.' Lord Salisbury's may serve as a sample:

Salisbury to Cranbrook.

'*March 28, 1888.*

'MY DEAR CRANBROOK

'As unworthily representing your colleagues, and also most heartily on my own behalf, I write a line to wish you and Lady Cranbrook joy on your Golden Wedding Day. Smith's enquiry will have conveyed to you that we hope you will accept from us a slight memorial which may remain as a record of our affectionate wishes and grateful sympathy. We older ones are entitled by a long companionship in arms, in which, through good report and evil report, we have striven by your side for the same cause, to claim a special right to congratulate ourselves and you on this occasion, but we all heartily combine in expressing our thankfulness that your valuable public career has been so long continued, and in hoping that your guidance may yet be spared long to the nation. With my best regards and good wishes to Lady Cranbrook,

'Believe me yours very truly,

'SALISBURY.'

My father's congratulatory sonnet was found among my mother's 'Treasures' after her death:

To my Wife. March 28, 1888.

Hoarding for fifty years treasure untold,
Each day some new coins added to the store
Lose their distinctness in the pile before
Poured in. Yet know I each one is true gold—
Freely bestowed—Gifts from the heart—not sold;
Valued as undeserved so much the more:
No need with miser fear to count them o'er!
For none can steal, or tear them from my hold.
Yet, dearest, wonder not if I this year
Some special tokens from the heap remove,
Recalling words or deeds to memory dear
Fitted thy true devotedness to prove,
And find on each how deeply stamped appear
Thine image, and the superscription 'Love.'

March 29.—'It is not easy to describe the moving incidents of the day, but I must try while they are fresh in my memory, omitting the natural feelings evoked by the anniversary itself. Letters and telegrams and presents have been coming in—the Queen's bust and note among the most valuable—letters from Smith, Salisbury, Richmond—words on a present from the Stanleys, most touching—as indeed so many and so much have been. Before breakfast we distributed the brooches made for the occasion, and they were duly appreciated and admired.'

(These brooches, two C's interlaced between the dates 1838 and 1888 in brilliants, were given to each daughter and daughter-in-law. The actual festivities were postponed until April 4, as this was written on the Thursday in Holy Week.)

'All got to church, for the day was bright and warm. But I have passed by the deputation of servants with an address and beautiful gold box. That was very gratifying. The new Reredos erected by our children is complete, and is, I think, a real addition to the east end. After we got home, the couples who like ourselves have been married

fifty years, were admitted, and were pleased with the gift of a sovereign for each pair. The intervals I filled up with writing many letters to those who had written or wired their good wishes, and a formidable heap of work done lies before me. I am glad that more addresses did not come to-day, for the dear mother has been much excited by all the touching tributes of word and deed. What love she has kindled and deserved! God bless her!'

D. April 5.—'The great day is over, and the slight snow showers neither wetted person, nor damped the ground, and we congratulated ourselves this morning, when we found the country under snow, that we had been so fortunate. The first indication of our celebration was the arrival of the Secretary of the East Grinstead Conservative Association with an address, Alfred's connection with that division being of course the source. We walked most of us to church under an arch at our own gate, another at the lodge, and a splendid one by the Club. The village was bright with bunting and banners, and signs of rejoicing, simple and affecting, met the eye everywhere. I took the dear one on my arm, and we were saluted by Canon Joy and Richard Neve with gifts of vellum Prayer-books, representing also the Bible and hymn-book which we found for each in our seat. They were a part of the gift of the tenants, the *pièce de résistance* of which is a splendid family Bible in vellum, presented by R. Neve in proposing our health at the dinner. The church was crammed, and the service impressive, and appropriate. Psalms xxiii. and xxxiv. Lessons—the beginning of Deuteronomy xx. and John ii. A full choir sang and chanted effectively. The *feu de joie* with which the volunteers honoured us on emerging from church nearly led to an accident, which providentially was averted. The wagonette flew off, and William was shaken

from his seat, but, not falling off, clung hard to the reins. The horse pulled up before he reached the bottom of the green. So far as I can judge, the dinner gave satisfaction. I was rather ashamed of responding with too much emotion, but everything had its tender side, and it was impossible not to feel. The only toasts were "The Queen," "Ourselves," "Tenants and Wives," and "The Family," which Canon Joy proposed with his usual good taste, to which Stewart responded. The Joys have been most helpful, and we owe to his judgment the beautiful books given by the tenants, and the address presented after the dinner on behalf of the parish, with 1000 signatures. The sports, Ethiopian serenaders, Punch, and the amusements got up by the students at the Hole appeared to give great satisfaction, and the donkey races in costume were warmly and deservedly applauded. The only weak point was the fireworks, which were too long delayed, and were not judiciously arranged, nor were they, except a very few, good of their kind. Still, from the shouts, perhaps the less exacting spectators found high pleasure in them. The crowd was very great, and many neighbours came with congratulations, the Hardcastles with a splendid golden bouquet. The refreshment tents were besieged all the afternoon and evening. The strangers were rather irrepressible, and it was not easy to keep the house clear of uninvited guests, all anxious to see the presents, which, no doubt make a goodly show. Thank God, no one seems any the worse for the fatigue or excitement, and Jane herself is amazing. God bless and keep her!'

The entire family were assembled on the occasion, and my father and mother were photographed in the middle of their lineal descendants, the only absentee among the grandchildren being my eldest brother's youngest son Nigel, now



Photo : G. Glanville.]

THE GOLDEN WEDDING—LORD AND LADY CRANBROOK AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

a captain in the Rifle Brigade, then a small boy who was seized with a shy fit, and cried too much to face the camera. At this date (1909) nearly a generation afterwards the whole group, with the exception of the central figures, survive, and one grandchild, Dorothy, born the following year, is a wife and mother. I will not add anything to my father's own graphic account of the celebration, which dwells in all our memories, except to explain that the Mr. Richard Neve who represented the tenantry was, like his father before him, and his son after him, my father's valued agent, and Canon Joy vicar of the parish, and afterwards of Maidstone.

Departmental business, technical education, and a Royal Commission on a teaching university gave a good deal of work at this time, but there is nothing in the Diary or correspondence on these subjects which calls for quotation. He addressed a vast audience of Liberal Unionists at Portsmouth—'thoughts came pretty freely, and I never had to refer to a note or quotation.' The Queen's foreign visit and her stay at Berlin caused some anxiety, but both passed off satisfactorily, and Prince Bismarck, who had not been a *persona grata* to Her Majesty, made a favourable impression in personal intercourse.

My father saw Her Majesty at a Council at Windsor immediately after her return. There was much anxiety at the time about the health of the Emperor Frederick, husband of the Princess Royal, who had succeeded his father, the aged Emperor William I., on March 9, and only survived until June 15.

D. May 4.—'The Council at Windsor was made very easy, as we were back at 4. The Queen sent for me rather before 3, the time named, and was very pleasant, but I thought looked rather tired. She said "not with her journeys, but with talking to everyone." She began to feel that. She spoke quite warmly of Bismarck, his good manners and "soft voice." She wondered that there had

been any objection to her going, as she had been received in the kindest way by the Germans. She could not say enough of the Italians, and the joy of her stay at, and admiration of Florence. She said nothing of her hopes or fears for the Emperor, but his slight rally gives no one much cheer about him, and one cannot but fear he is on the verge!'

D. May 18.—'I must really preserve a story which the Duchess of Cleveland told me, and the truth of which Salisbury confirmed. Lady Salisbury asked a man and his wife to a Ball. He accepted for himself, informing her that his wife had been dead some time (I think eight months) and requesting that Miss —— might be invited as her probable successor!'

D. June 9.—'A great banquet to the King of Sweden at Marlborough House wound up the day. All was admirably done, and the jewelled ladies added brilliancy to the brilliant rooms. I took in the Duchess Paul of Mecklenburg, who is pretty and agreeable, and had Lady Lansdowne on the other side, so was well placed. The King was extremely gracious to me after dinner—took me by both hands and led me into the room off the drawing-room and made me sit alone with him while he descanted upon the folly of the "respectable and honourable men" who were supporting nationalism in Ireland. If they knew, he said, what Norway had been to him, they could not act so. He would have abdicated but for the sake of Sweden, and though he hoped that by using some Radicals in Norway he had to some degree got a hold, it was evident how dangerous he felt the position to be. He added that he should have to talk to Lord Spencer, and would tell him what he thought, and he evidently did it in the course of the evening, and threw more dejection into that mistaken man's countenance.

It was really an interesting evening and gives one much to think of.'

D. June 10.—'In the evening (of Saturday) we entertained the Tecks at dinner. The party was lively, and Prince Teck made a diversion by insisting upon making German cup in our Golden Wedding vase. Hock, champagne, seltzer water, flowers, fruit, and I know not what. One could not help being amused, and he was evidently gratified at having his fling. The Duchess was as cheery and good-humoured as usual, and the Princess May the same. We shall often laugh over the loving cup which went round in due form.'

On the death of the Emperor Frederick on June 15 my father wrote to Her Majesty, and received the following reply:

'The Queen thanks Lord Cranbrook sincerely for his kind words of sympathy. This is a most terrible private and public misfortune and the Queen and her children are overwhelmed with it. The Queen's heart bleeds for her poor sorely stricken child whose whole life is blighted.'

On July 9 he lost his eldest, and only surviving, brother, Sir John Hardy, who died as the result of an accident in his 81st year. He was knocked down by a cab when posting a letter in the pillar-box at South Street, and sustained a compound fracture of the thigh.

D. July 6.—'I saw my dear brother, and was surprised at his strength of voice and cheerfulness, but was but a short time with him. How sadly comes this check to a life which seemed so vigorous!'

D. July 10.—'Last evening my dear brother was taken to his rest. I saw him on Sunday evening, and marked a great change and declension in him. He spoke less, was

more restless, and gave me the impression that he was not far from his end. The nurse too, as she said he wants to say good-bye, seemed to have the intention to warn me that I might not see him again, and so it proved. He has been a kind and good brother to me. So I remain the eldest but one of the race, and the only son. God give me grace to fulfil faithfully all the duties of my short residue of life! How short it may be John's fate is a warning.'

The next reference is to the Parnell Commission:

D. July 14.—'I do not write of our Cabinet, the result of which appeared in Smith's answer to Parnell on Thursday night. It seemed a political necessity or expediency, but I do not like taking the place of the Courts of Justice, as if they were not trustworthy.'

D. August 1.—'How I wish we had refused any tribunal but the Courts of Law—the natural and reasonable one!'

He was again at Balmoral on September 4, and remained to the 14th. He found the Queen in a less anxious frame of mind, and contrasts his quiet time with his last arduous attendance. He had many conversations which I could not ask to insert. He showed great activity for a man nearly seventy-four years of age.

D. September 4.—'Everything looks beautiful, and the mountains were too clear. So fresh was the air, and so tempting the aspect of things, that I left my carriage and walked nearly five miles, feeling no fatigue.'

From Balmoral he went on a visit to the Duke of Richmond at Gordon Castle and enjoyed many days' salmon-fishing with some success. He records the capture of fish of 25 and 19 lb., and of a good many smaller ones. He left

on the 24th for Raby, and was home at Hemsted at the end of the month. He writes on his birthday:

D. October 1.—'Seventy-four! What an age I once thought it! And yet I am thankful to feel much buoyancy of spirit and body, and have been surprised at myself, especially during the last few days of my absence from home.'

He takes special note of the glorious St. Luke's summer this October. On October 27 'midges and primroses testified to the mildness, and excellent green peas at dinner.' On the following day 'Katie brought in ripe wild strawberries.' On the 18th of the same month, there is a curious note of the far-reaching effect of an explosion. Calais must be nearly forty miles distant from Hemsted as the crow flies.

D.—'Mr. Fox (curate of Benenden Parish) told me that he was conscious of a thud on Tuesday at 9 P.M. which sent all the pheasants into the trees. I see that an explosion occurred at that time at Calais where a petroleum ship blew up.'

He returned to work at the office on November 5, and unveiled the memorial statue to Lord Iddesleigh on the 6th:

D. November 7.—'Yesterday unveiled, with few words, Iddesleigh's statue, which is good, and represents him as we remember him in the Commons. All were pleased with it, and my few words were well received, if people are sincere.'

D. November 9.—'Attended at the Horse Guards a meeting of the Cabinet Committee with H.R.H. and Wolseley. There was much useful talk, and I hope good will come out of it. The military want too much, and the navy, they admit, has first claim, and most impresses the country. We ought to be safe from an enemy crossing the

Channel. Still we want better supplies of full-grown men for India.'

D. November 10.—'Dined at the Guildhall last night, taking Nina' (his eldest granddaughter), 'who really enjoyed herself. I had to propose the late Lord Mayor—an easy task—and was glad to have it instead of the House of Lords. Salisbury and Balfour had great receptions, the latter is the popular man.'

D. November 25.—'Our Cabinet was interesting. The van and wheel taxes. I always doubted Goschen's small taxes, though I see the expediency of not giving in to the idea that no taxable things are to be found, and that private interests combining are to overthrow good schemes.'

D. December 5.—'The Cabinet was interesting. Bechuanaland, and Khama's land beyond it. We shall have to face our liabilities eventually, and I doubt if we can evade them except at a greater loss of money and life. Procedure in the House of Commons. Then a question as to the Scotch Secretary being in the Cabinet: now 16! It is a pity that there are two representatives of the Irish Government, as they awaken Scotch jealousies, and are not needed and unusual.'

D. January 12, 1889.—'Smith writes from Monte Carlo: "Refreshed, but anxious to quit the House of Commons when he can do so with a clear conscience"; for of course giving up the leadership involves the other. Murders, outrages, cyclones, revolutions, African troubles, fill the papers.'

Smith to Cranbrook, January 9, 1889.

'I am quite refreshed, but although I think it a matter of simple duty to stay where I am, so long as I am really wanted, I should be very glad to go, whenever I can do so with a clear conscience. The House of Commons is

completely changed even from what it was in your time: and it seems to call rather for the rough, stern, and brutal treatment of a Bismarck than the traditional English Parliamentary methods.'

After a brief stay at Goodwood, his first visit to his friend the Duke of Richmond in his Sussex home, he left for Osborne on the 29th.

D. January 30.—'I found myself in the *Alberta* with Bishop Stubbs and Dean Vaughan, who made agreeable companions. All full of Boulanger's extraordinary victory, which was the first thing the Queen spoke to me of. Who can calculate French politics? I officiated at the Bishop's homage for Oxford, and saw him installed Chancellor of the Garter. The Queen thought him like Bright "at his best." She is curious in finding resemblances, and remarked upon Baron de Worms as something between Drummond Wolff and Rothschild. I got a good walk with Cowell by Norris Castle and East Cowes; the former I had not seen since boyhood. The dinner party was large, as the Empress and her three daughters were there besides Count Seckendorf and members of the Household. I was between the Empress and her eldest daughter, a frank fresh girl. She looked depressed, and her head-gear has a melancholy effect—still she talked cheerfully, and said some strange things about war and large armies. The Phelpses I ought to have mentioned, as there to take leave (the American Minister and his wife) and evidently sorry to go, she proud of her fine diamond bracelet so recently presented. Her Majesty talked to me long, but on nothing special, now and again recurring to German relations. Courtney and De Worms were added to the honourable list of P.C.s. The Queen kept me talking some time till I reminded her of the

Knights, whom she had forgotten. They did not however keep her long, two Mayors, of Nottingham and Bristol, Miller (the ex-Railway Commissioner), and Myles Fenton (the General Manager of the South Eastern Railway) who was radiant.'

D. February 21.—'The eventful day for Parliament to meet—and when separate? I hardly know what to think of the Commission' (the Parnell Commission), 'there has been implicit trust in Pigott, and on him the main reliance apparently. He is in the box and will be tested. Salisbury dined about 75 Peers sumptuously last night.'

D. February 22.—'The House called me for the Commission at 2, but that work was over in ten minutes. At the regular sitting the ordinary mover and seconder speeches, with more pepper in Londesborough than is common. Granville was easy and light generally, but evasive and weak on Irish matters. Selborne interposed passionately. and Salisbury wound up with vigour and dignity; so the end. The Parnell Commission has been exciting, and the culprits appear to be in high glee at what appears the breakdown of the witness Pigott, who cuts a sorry figure. Though the letters are not the case, they are the prominent point in the public mind.'

D. March 2.—'The wretched Pigott is reported to have shot himself at Madrid. A miserable business from the first, and ordinary enquiry would have saved the *Times* from reliance on such a man. The Home Rulers are overdoing their exultation, and trying to couple the Government with the *Times*, an untenable attempt, which cannot in the end be effective, though all that malice and uncharitableness can invent will be tried.'

D. February 28.—'I went to the Lyceum and we saw Macbeth (Henry Irving's production of the play). It was

wonderfully put on the stage and on the whole well done. Irving was very artificial, but had his good passages, and Ellen Terry pleased me in much of her work. I am not sure that I have gained new insight into the play. We had an auditor behind much bored, not hearing well, and understanding less. He thought "it ought not to last longer than Church." Happily at last he slept.'

D. March 3.—'Hard frost this morning as yesterday. Knutsford, with two Indunas of the Matabele country from Lobengula, Lord Arthur Hill, and Raikes, were my companions to the Council—a very short one. The Queen saw me for a short time first, . . . sanguine of her people's good sense. She had seen the sooty messengers in their great fur cloaks before lunch in some state, as Lifeguardsmen, with swords drawn, lined the lobby. I hear they expected more of a palaver, and thought the proceedings too short. Their view of Royal control of weather was meant to be complimentary. "Kings and Queens rule the cold and heat," but their fur wrappings were the better protection against this nipping frost.'

D. March 27.—'Last night I dined at St. James's Palace under the presidency of the Prince of Wales (in place of Her Majesty), who gave the Banquet to the Royal Agricultural Council. It was a stately affair, and the room looked well. I proposed the Prince's health, and sitting next him, found him very affable. He read his speech—and wisely—for he had to deal with facts difficult to remember.'

'A singular mortality announced. Guy Dawnay full of promise, fell a victim to a wounded buffalo. Bright has, on a late relapse, faded out of the precarious life to which he seemed clinging, and the Duke of Buckingham, a few days absent from his duties, and whom no one

apparently knew to be in danger, died last night. He had many good qualities and was an honest, well-meaning man. So ends a Dukedom—though an Earldom and Barony pass to different possessors, a nephew and daughter. Competition for Buckingham's place (the Chairmanship of Committees in House of Lords) begins. The question is, I think, between Balfour of Burleigh and Morley, and probably our own man will carry the day. I could be well content with Morley personally.'

D. April 5.—'Salisbury was, I think, disappointed at the defection which led to Morley's election last night, and his Whip should have known and told him. Had he known the strong feeling, he might have himself proposed the winner, who is an excellent fellow and well qualified.'

I have not given many extracts referring to my father's departmental work at the Education Office, as, although it occupied much of his time, it would not be of great interest to readers now. I ought, however, just to glance at the difficulties he had with the Revised Code, a subject which for once placed him at variance with the National Society, and the champions of Voluntary Education, of which he was a lifelong and enthusiastic supporter.

D. April 22.—'I see bother about the Code. Gregory and Beauchamp, evidently in concert, have been urging Salisbury to interfere and to put off the Code for a year.'

D. May 5.—'At the Cabinet yesterday Salisbury produced strong letters against the Code, and recommended its withdrawal. This I objected to without discussion, and after much variety of opinion all came to the conclusion that the discussion had better take place on Friday next. I have no power to promise money, which makes the future more difficult. The Voluntaries who object are, I think,

unwise, as the calls upon them are met more than they think.'

D. May 11.—'Last night the attack on the Code came on, and was not, I thought, strong. The Bishop of London was in favour of it as against the existing Code, and only wanted time for more discussion. Harrowby urged nothing new, but "the whole report, money, &c." I replied at length, and think I met many objections, and Cross agreed with me that the Commission were anxious to keep within the present outlay. Beauchamp was, of course, not satisfied. Salisbury is oppressed by the great number of remonstrances, all stirred up by the Committee of the National Society. Well! The case is before them, and I believe they are most unwise in opposing what must benefit all the poorer schools.'

D. May 26.—'We had a long Cabinet *de omnibus rebus*, after which I went to lunch at the Admiralty, and, as it was so late, stayed for the Firemen's show, which proved a regular fiasco. The ground was not kept. The Prince and Princess of Wales were regularly mobbed, and had to get into the Horse Guards. Abergavenny and Coventry had to run behind an engine! and I do not doubt that to-morrow's papers will be crowded with complaints, not unjustified. Smith's birthday dinner was good and pleasant, Prince Victor a guest. The show at the Foreign Office was gorgeous, and the floral decorations lovely. I was introduced to Lincoln, the new United States Minister, and to Mrs. Chamberlain—simple, and unaffected-looking. The diamonds were a sight, and the beauty of many wearers did honour to the race. Dufferin said that nothing struck him so much on his return as the loveliness of English women.'

D. May 29.—'Ashbourne, and Coventry, with me, made

up the Council. The Queen seemed to me rather nervous, and she dwelt much on the tumult of Saturday, desiring me to impress on Salisbury and Matthews the necessity of giving her adequate protection from the mob, or she would go to no ceremonial in London. Since she was struck, she has been afraid of pressure from a crowd, and she admitted to me yesterday that she was nervous about it. I got a laugh out of her when I told her of Abergavenny's and Coventry's run. The Queen went off upon education—its wrong direction—preventing labour being adequately honoured, and so servants are more difficult to get and deal with.'

His troubles with the Code about this time came to a climax. It will be seen that he felt the opposition of his friends very much, and even contemplated retirement from Office.

D. June 22.—'Wrote to Talbot as to using Church Defence meetings to attack the Code and practically censure me. I think it rather strong. Certainly they can get up a great stir adverse to the Code, as I believe most suicidally, but it must be dealt with; personally, I do not wish to stand in the way of Voluntary schools getting any amount of money, but they will open awkward questions. The Royal Commission was not so one-sided as they represent. *Afternoon.*—I come from a Cabinet which has done a good deal in its longish sitting. As to the Code, it is so clear that, averse from fighting our own friends, all the Cabinet desired it to be withdrawn, that I submitted to their unanimous decision. Ought I to remain? It seems a surrender, and yet it is not withdrawn on merits, for all the Cabinet approve, but on grounds of expediency. I am not sure that they are real, for I expect there will be a great

outcry from the School Boards and the teachers. Then should I withdraw from the Church Defence and the National Society? I should be justified, but I will do nothing without thought.'

The following extracts refer to the visit of the Shah of Persia, an event which caused much excitement this year:

D. July 3.—'Yesterday after my ride came the Levée of the Shah, who passed the officials in order at Buckingham Palace. A coarse, tyrannical face, and seemingly he was not readily instructed by Malcolm Khan. The Chancellor was a puzzle! My name he tried hard to pronounce. He asked Balfour if he meant to grant Home Rule, which shows at least that he had some knowledge of him.'

D. July 4.—'I had a busy day, as the Shah's reception at the Guildhall was early. I had accepted only for myself, but two tickets came, so I invited Lady Milner, and she was perfectly delighted to come, and greatly enjoyed the whole thing, which was certainly splendid and well managed. Newspapers sufficiently describe it. Smith's banquet at St. James's Hall I went to, as a duty, and from my great respect for him. The dinner was too long, but the speeches not so, and I got away after my own. Then came the State Ball. I was quite ready to come away at 1.20. I think I never saw more people on such an occasion, and I expect the invitation net was widened.'

D. July 5.—'In the evening the Sassoon entertainment at the Empire Theatre, which brought together an audience such as, probably, will never be seen there again. The flowers, the jewels, the faces, made wonderful groupings. The Royalties were largely represented, and Lord Fife looked happy with his fiancée. The Shah appeared to enjoy the dancing, and the very extraordinary feats of

acrobats and jugglers. I confess I also enjoyed the latter very much. The cost of such a festivity one can hardly estimate. Evelyn and I had a box, and saw stage and theatre with equal advantage.'

D. July 9.—'Yesterday was threatening, and probably alarmed some of those invited to Hatfield, but plenty went. I was in the Hall with the Shah and grandees, and was amused to see H.M. taking a deliberate sketch of Rawlinson, which I did not see, but it was said to be good. No rain troubled us after lunch, and the great gathering gave itself up to the usual pleasure of garden parties, crowding together, and looking little at the garden. There has been a fall in the night after the long drought, and the earth must be singing with joy.'

The vexed question of grants for the members of the Royal Family was settled this year by a permanent measure. My father makes no secret of his own opinion that the settlement was inadequate.

D. July 6.—'The Cabinet was long and on one subject —the grants to members of the Royal Family—which are to be referred to a Committee. My own idea is to separate the existing state from the future, declaring how Parliament will act up to the demise of the Crown. The Queen will deal with daughters' children: we should, as they will naturally expect, deal with those of sons. We had a long rambling talk, but eventually something to that effect was resolved. Of course, the children of the Heir-Apparent are in a different position. A small sub-committee should have prepared the scheme, but, after all, the assent of the Crown, and the concurrence of Liberal Unionists, who will be upon the Committee, and of Gladstone, are

wanted. It augurs ill for Monarchy to be so thriftily treated, and with such niggardliness to the descendants.'

D. July 23.—'I am off for a Council, mainly to declare the German Emperor Admiral of the Fleet. I fear the Queen must be worried by the trouble on Royal Grants. The Compromise is poor and mean, and yet is to be opposed!'

D. July 24.—'George Hamilton, and Limerick, accompanied me to Osborne. We had an opportunity of seeing the mighty armament resting on the waters, leaving to imagination a conception of the force latent in the not lovely structures. I had even a better view on my way back.

'May Britannia rule the waves with her iron rod, as she did with her wooden one! Who knows what a naval battle will reveal? The Queen gave no interview but to myself, and spoke mainly of the Royal Grants, as she did again in the evening, with dignity and calmness, but with an evident sense of unworthy treatment. It is difficult to judge clearly from outside, but we seem to have paid dearly for a compromise not effectual. One must not judge colleagues harshly, but they have been rather yielding. The Queen does not want to be committed to an abandonment of claims which, under the circumstances, she has waived.'

D. July 26.—'The debate on Royal Grants seems to have been more decorous than was expected, and Gladstone, on his Golden Wedding day, seems to have won golden opinions by his speech.'

There is also a note on August 2 of Her Majesty's objection to the 'cruel and unnecessary' muzzle for dogs. Her care for her canine favourites is well known. My father expresses a doubt whether the state of things in 1887 was urgent enough to call for action, but states his own belief that neither the health nor the spirits of dogs are affected by the muzzle.

D. August 10.—'Salisbury and Peel were my sole companions to Osborne. A Persian Hadji, introduced by Drummond Wolff, with his interpreter was in another carriage. Out of many names Mohammed Hussan were selected for his introduction to the Queen. He professed his devotion to Wolff, "his sun and king, to whom he owed all favours," and he expressed himself exuberantly on our courtesy and kindness, which, he told Peel, he should record in his journal. I was amused at his guessing my age at 58 (!) and Salisbury's 60. The Queen was cheerful and well, but moved uncomfortably on her stick, and did not rise easily from her chair. Her Majesty was full of her love of dogs, and appeared to have little compassion for the bitten human beings "who were generally no worse," I had statistics to show the need for action, and she made some admissions at last. After all, the muzzle when well made, is no hardship to her "friends." She regretted Onslow as a real "dog lover." We had to hurry over our lunch, as she kept us late. Our Persian friend appeared to be taking whatever was offered, and was, I think, glad to be relieved from more.'

The long but not very eventful session closed at the end of August. My father paid some visits in Scotland, staying at Poltalloch, Braemore, and Gordon Castle, and records sport with deer, salmon, and grouse. He visited the Forth Bridge—then on the verge of completion, on his way south—with an introduction from its creator, Sir John Fowler, so often his host at Braemore.

D. September 28.—'I got to the Forth Bridge about 10 A.M. Mr. Cooper, the resident engineer, and Arrol, the contractor, were my escort, and in something over an hour they showed me the stupendous structure, the magnitude

of which it is not easy to grasp. I was on the highest point, indeed on all points, and had most lucid explanations from Mr. Arrol, whose intelligence is at once manifest. It is a mighty undertaking, and constructed simply "with brains." Every difficulty apparently foreseen, and simply met. I was much impressed, and was glad to have seen the work before actually complete, though the junction was to be within 4 inches last night.'

D. October 1, Hemsted.—'Lovingly greeted at home by loving lips, letters as earnest have not been wanting. Thankful am I to begin my 76th year in the midst of such love and kindness.'

He was out shooting that day in some drenching showers and by the evening was in bed with tonsilitis, having, as he thought, caught a chill on his way south. He was in bed for a week, and had to be excused a Council, and to postpone a platform engagement. There is a gap in the Diary—one of the longest—from the 1st to the 10th; but he was annoyed at the newspaper reports of his health.

D. October 14.—'The newspapers are indeed troublesome. As for me they exaggerate, but it is no use interfering. The Maidstone paper says "I was never very robust," as if I had been generally an invalid! I am thankful to say I improve, and was able to ride an hour and a half yesterday without fatigue. The papers say I had been out one hour in a carriage!'

The day before he had noted the loss of the Buckinghamshire election. His gloomy vaticinations were perhaps coloured by the state of his health.

D. October 13.—'Bucks election lost, as I had anticipated. The democracy becomes a dubious reliance. How little the Unionist question affects these results, which come

from impossible promises of socialistic changes! They may come, but are far off—ruin will come with them.'

By November he was quite himself again, and able to enjoy several visits and a good deal of sport. At Addington he met Magee, the Bishop of Peterborough, and found his conversation interesting and amusing.

D. November 20.—'Magee made conversation lively. I wish I could remember all his fun. He is rather pessimistic as to Church dangers, and told me that three years ago he had a talk with Gladstone, which shewed him that that incomprehensible man had thought over disestablishment, but was then firm as to life interests and fabrics. Thank him for nothing! He said that Wilberforce had killed more bishops than the persecutions, by setting up a standard which others could not, physically or otherwise, attain to. His anecdotes never were wanting, and I could help him to some new ones, which he greatly relished.'

He also visited Welbeck. The Duchess of Portland had been married early in the year from his London house. She was the niece of his son-in-law, Sir Henry Graham, and had been a great friend of our family from childhood.

D. November 26, Welbeck.—'We were soon here among the crowd round Winnie's tea-table. She looked sweet, and did her work gracefully and simply. Salisburys, Galways, Valentias, Granbys, Rowton, G. Wyndham, J. Lowther, Charles Wortley, are of the company, and 29 dined.'

D. November 27.—'Just returned from a tour over and under Welbeck—a marvellous freak of rich eccentricity. Endless tunnels, vast underground rooms, enormous riding schools, stables, and gallop: all, indeed—garden included—on the vastest scale, amid which the house itself is in

comparison dwarfed. It indeed most wanted the designer's skill, for it is irregular and intricate.'

I may conclude this chapter with some reflections which appear in two sheets of the Diary, accidentally missed and left blank.

D. December 17.—'These blank sheets tempt me. I have always held office at single anchor; now I doubt whether, looking at age alone—for as yet I feel no deficiency of power, though others may see it—I ought not once more to give Salisbury some help in re-arranging his over-large Cabinet. People suppose that there are secrets from us: this is not so, but of course much which requires speedy action is done by the leaders of the two Houses and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. They never commit us to anything however without consulting. My office has become practically only educational—agriculture taken away. It looks as if the Treasury wish to alter Science and Art management. I have my doubts if I could agree to Salisbury's education views, or consent to absolute inaction if I cannot. What is my duty? I do not want to shirk any, but ought I to stay until want of health, or disagreement, compel me to go? Is not three-quarters of a century of life ground enough for retirement?'

CHAPTER XXXII

THE LAST PERIOD OF OFFICE (1890—1892)

THE Diary at the commencement of 1890 is full of allusions to the strange and dangerous epidemic of influenza which raged through England, and has, unfortunately, recurred almost every year since. Lord Salisbury's attack caused some anxiety, and Lord Hartington also suffered, although not so severely. Lord Napier of Magdala was carried away at a ripe old age, 'a fine old man,' and on January 8 the death of the Empress Augusta from the same cause is noted. Many of the large family party assembled at Hemsted were attacked by 'the strange disorder,' but fortunately without serious results in any case. From other causes also mortality was great. My father was greatly shocked at the sudden death of Mr. Cumin, the Secretary of the Education Department, a somewhat masterful, but very able, subordinate.

D. January 10.—'At 4 P.M. a telegram brought me the sad intelligence of P. Cumin's sudden death. I had written a long letter to him this morning, and the address looks mournfully on me—"never more." I think that I got on well with him, though latterly I was compelled to differ with him in some respects. He was in a fixed groove, and, no doubt, had a bias for Board Schools against Voluntary ones; but he was not consciously unfair, and looked to the law, as he thought it laid down a rule. Peace be with him!'

D. January 17.—'I was off early to town, and attended

Cumin's funeral with Dyke. There was a good gathering, mostly people connected with the Education Department. I nearly made up my mind to appoint Kekewich as his successor, but wrote to Salisbury, as it is an important matter.'

D. February 15.—'The Parnell Commission report was in our hands yesterday. "Not proven" and "not established" are mild acquittals on some points; but there is emphatic finding of "criminal conspiracy" and "encouragement of intimidation which led to crime," as they saw.'

He presided at a banquet given to Lord Harris on his appointment to the Governorship of Bombay:

D. February 27.—'Last night the Kent Banquet to Lord Harris was given at the Métropole. All was admirably arranged for the great gathering, which was thoroughly representative of the County. I presided, and was cordially welcomed, and my remarks kindly received. Harris spoke with excellent taste and feeling, Goschen was animated and animating, Akers Douglas, who managed all, may well be pleased with his success. Harris has, I suppose, weighed anchor at 11 this morning, and is now on his way down the Thames. God speed him!'

D. March 20.—'The events of the day, Bismarck's resignation, and the coal strike, occupy men's minds. The former may, and must, impress Germany, and yet he has probably done the work needed of him, and finds that he has not power enough with his new master to be useful. The latter looks serious, but may probably collapse, or be healed by compromise.'

D. March 22.—'Yesterday a Council. Her Majesty was quite warm in her greeting. . . . The Chinese Minister

took leave. His ideas of geography were peculiar. Scotch mountains seen from Windsor!'

D. March 29.—'Our Cabinet, which was long, detained me. The Budget, surplus £3,200,000, mainly from drink—we hope to use it profitably. Tea—Police superannuation—compensation to publicans. Drunkards may well reimburse police, and pay off extinguished licenses. On the whole I was much pleased with Goschen's plans, and so wrote hurriedly to Rutland.'

There is an interlineation after the words 'Goschen's plans' inserted at a later date, 'They failed to please.'

D. April 28.—'Yesterday I dined with the Northcotes to meet H.R.H. (the Duke of Cambridge) who was hearty as usual. He slept however after dinner and made us late, as, being refreshed, he talked long to Chamberlain in the drawing-room. The party was a very agreeable one.'

He attended a Council on May 1, and on the 2nd spoke on behalf of Alderman Davis at Rochester, and was well received. After his account of a Cabinet on the 3rd he writes, 'Our fleet must be a reality.'

D. May 6.—'We dined with the Dowager Lady Iddesleigh, and met Carnarvon, Andrew Lang, and his clever wife. He is doing Northcote's Life, and never having known him finds it hardish work. I do not know that I have much to aid him.'

D. May 10.—'Yesterday was the darkest drawing-room I have ever seen, and the rain came down in torrents from about 1.30. Unhappy ladies were waiting in their carriages from 11.30, and when I drove down at 2.45 there was a long line from the top of Grosvenor Place which had not set down! We had more than two hours of it, the Queen leaving in

the middle. There were many beauties, and much splendid dress, but all looked dim and dreary. I pity the unhappy people who were in a babbling crowd when I left, vainly hoping for the signal that their carriages had come to take them away! It was a memorable scene, and I hope will not be repeated, or I not there to see.'

The new Education Code was more fortunate than its predecessor:

D. May 13.—'I was in the House of Lords, when we talked on sundry points of the Code. All were favourable, and my few words were well received. Both the Archbishops, and London blessed; I dare say we shall have no more discussion.'

He returned to Hemsted for a time on May 24, where he was engaged in settling the plans for a new house he was about to build as a sort of dower house at Benenden. The Grange, which stands near the top of the village green commanding a magnificent view of the Weald and the Downs, was for many years the home of my eldest brother and his family, and has been that of my two eldest sisters since my father's death. It will be seen that his prophetic instinct did not fail him, as my youngest sister Evelyn, now Viscountess Goschen, was married in 1893.

D. May 24.—'Thomas (the celebrated landscape gardener) and the architect (Mr. Cotman) are here to consider the projected home for Emy, Katie, and—Evelyn?'

D. Whitmonday, May 26.—'The last two days have been quite glorious. We were early on the ground by the church, and there was much disputation between Thomas and Stewart, who each had a view! The former has been so crippled that he cannot fully survey his scene of action, but is not less positive than of old, and has always

something to say for himself. Mr. Cotman rather sided with Stewart. Among them they will, I dare say, make out what is right, and I did not much interfere.'

He came to London for a Cabinet on June 3, and 'thought Smith looking very poorly.' He groans under his burden. 'German questions were pressing,' they are not pleasant to deal with either on the spot (in Africa) or by diplomacy. An important agreement was shortly afterwards entered into between Lord Salisbury and the Emperor. It was signed on July 1. It marked the limits of German East Africa and German West Africa, abandoned German claims to Uganda and the Upper Nile, and recognised a British Protectorate of Zanzibar. By way of compensation England ceded the island of Heligoland to Germany. It will be seen that my father viewed this cession with some apprehension, but on the whole it was quietly received in the country.

D. June 8.—'Our Cabinet yesterday had important matters to deal with. German arrangements—Behring Sea —the "bombshell" to be fired on Thursday' (Heligoland). 'I have misgivings as to bringing anything European into the African settlement. A fuss would certainly be made, however unreasonably, and Jingos would be wild.'

D. June 11.—'Our Cabinet was very important, and I am not quite without misgiving at bringing European sovereignty to compensate for dark Africa—dark in more senses than one.'

D. June 30.—'Carnarvon died on Saturday evening. He had many excellent qualities, and I always had a regard for him. I think for a time after he ceased to be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland he was cold to me, and I never knew the cause. I had been very frank with him, but he did not openly take objection to anything I said. He was sensitive, and affected by causes that robuster natures would not

have felt. Let me remember only old friendship, and his good qualities.'

The Session dragged on till late in August, and it was not until the 19th of that month that he was able to settle down in his autumn quarters, this time Rhiwlas, the seat of Mr. R. J. Lloyd Price, which he had rented for the shooting season. There he entertained his family and many friends, and entered into the sport with a zest and activity truly marvellous in one of his years. I need not give details of his days on moor and river, which are duly and minutely chronicled. He only attended one public function during September, and that a typical Welsh one—the Eisteddfod, for which he was the guest of Sir Richard Bulkeley at his beautiful place near Beaumaris.

D. September 2.—'We had to start at 9, as the procession was formed near the church on the hill near Bangor, and a funny affair it was! The Mayor gave me a sort of private address of welcome, in the muddy road, and then we moved funereally among volunteers—town councillors—Odd Fellows—Foresters &c., not to mention Bards, to the vast building to hold 8000 sitting. There was some delay while the Welsh Fusilier Band played tunes, and then I was introduced, and warmly received. Rathbone was hearty on my educational services. An address to the same effect was presented, and then I spoke, and certainly attention appeared to be given, and applause followed. I am afraid that I did not say anything new or effective. They let me slip away at 12, and we were home at 4.40.'

He visited Balmoral as Minister in attendance towards the end of October, arriving on the 20th, and remaining till the end of the month.

D. October 21.—'At 11.15 the Queen met her Council

after giving me a short interview very genial on her part. She looks, and Cross tells me she is, wonderfully hearty and well, and she speaks with wonder of Cross's activity and agility in the dance. He and Peel will be off with the messenger, and I am in the old room, with a new writing-table which makes more room.'

He had a quiet and enjoyable time. There were highly successful theatricals at which Mr. Alexander Yorke's wonderful acting roused his great admiration, and he took much open-air exercise, although it was too late for deer-stalking.

D. October 30.—'Dined with the Queen, who took a gracious leave, expressing the pleasure she had felt at my visit—a common ceremony no doubt, but I always find her very gracious. She has abstained much from controverted topics this time, and has devoted herself mostly to personal conversation. Last night she went on to express a new opinion for her, of the greater liberality and toleration of High Church than Evangelicalism. I wonder whether I shall ever be here again. It seems hardly probable even if I remain in the Government, and I often doubt whether mere age ought not to keep me at home, though I do not yet feel pressed by its infirmities. I should not like to cling to Office until they compel me to retire. Salisbury knows that a hint from him that he wanted to reconstruct, or change, would be readily responded to by me. I have had my day, and may be thankful for the physical power still left to me, and I hope my mental is not impaired, though I sometimes doubt my having the requisite industry and memory. Enough of that. My colleagues are kind, the Queen gracious, and no one seems to desire my retirement —but—I am at single anchor.'

Departmental work and Cabinets began in November. The scheme for assisted education caused some trouble. Before Parliament met, a private, or at least non-political, event had broken the alliance between the Gladstonians and Parnell, and divided the ranks of the Irish Nationalists. This event, the appearance of Mr. Parnell as co-respondent in an undefended divorce case, and its far-reaching consequences, are fully described in the third volume of Lord Morley's 'Gladstone.' The Autumn Session commenced on the 24th, and the rapid passage of the Address was facilitated by the division and bewilderment of the Opposition.

D. November 25.—'Salisbury's dinner was pleasant enough last night, as I met many friends. The room was hot, as the electric light failed and he had to fall back on many candles. I had to start early for a Privy Council meeting on a question of having cases reheard and reargued. Peacock (Sir Barnes Peacock), at great length, and with great vigour for his age, contended against it. All the rest were of one mind, according to precedent and good sense. It was a very strong meeting and its pronouncement ought to be decisive. The Address was passed at 6.10, Granville singularly weak and hesitating, Salisbury terse, vigorous, and emphatic. The movers both good.'

D. November 27.—'The Commons, like the Lords, disposed of the Address on Tuesday, the Gladstonians dismayed at Parnell's appearance and assumption of his leadership. Gladstone had made an effort to prevent this, and published his letter in yesterday's paper. He or Parnell to retire! Re-consideration among Irish M.P.s, but will Parnell go? That seems uncertain, and the chances are rather the other way. There is nothing new since he resolved on Tuesday, for he knew Gladstone's view. Consternation prevails among the Separatists. Can we get the advantage of the

confusion to pass our measures? I hope our people will let the stew alone, and not stir it. It will last the longer if they do.'

D. December 4.—'Death has been reaping some very ripe growths. Cottesloe, Barnes Peacock, who seemed so well yesterday week, and died suddenly yesterday, Deramore at 72, Miss Rawson of Nydd, 96! . . . The Parnell affair the talk. His dogged determination wins a sort of admiration among the curs who, after adopting, turn round upon him. They have no moral standing, and it is clear the Nationalists will prefer him to Gladstone. He will, I believe, beat the recalcitrant M.P.s on an appeal to Ireland.'

D. December 7.—'The breach in the Parnellite party seems complete. The majority of M.P.s could not get a division, so seceded, and will, I presume, act as a Rump Parliament. I think that the Dictator will beat them, though the Hierarchy at least throw an adverse weight into the scale.'

D. December 10.—'Monday's papers were curious and amusing reading, for the final split of the Parnellites was preceded by a truly Irish squabble, in which no moderate language was used. Who can tell what will be the end? But Sandhurst tells me that Lord Spencer expects Parnell to win. I rather agree, though the Hierarchy may make a difference in the situation. It is a strong combined force.'

D. April 1, 1891.—'The *Globe* announces Lord Granville's death. He was a genial political adversary, but a strong party politician. He did his duty as Opposition leader with courtesy, but at the same time with point and effect. To me personally he was always most friendly, and I shall miss him.'

D. July 10.—'Lunched at the Londonderrys', to meet the German Emperor and Empress, and was duly introduced,

but had no conversation with either. I remember the Emperor very well at Balmoral, but then he was an unformed character and very young. The party was distinguished. My precedence put me at the Emperor's table, where I had the Duchess of Buccleuch in charge. Lady Cadogan was on my other hand. The chief guest was merry, and kept up his jokes all lunch time. We were kept long in the Gallery afterwards, and I only got back in time to go with Jane, Emy, and Evelyn, to the Marlborough House garden party, where the Queen came. It was a tremendous gathering, and was favoured by the fineness of the day. Not a drop of rain, for a wonder!'

D. July 11.—'Yesterday perfect for its uses. The Emperor seems to have been early astir—reviewing, riding, visiting naval exhibition—before his progress to the City. Violet and I preceded it, and were amused and interested at the people and decorations that crowded and made gay the whole route. Violet had a heavy cold, but the freshness of her pleasure at all she saw well repaid me for taking her. The sight was really a fine one, and on the whole our places were good on the daïs to see the entry and presentation. We slipped quietly into our places at the Guildhall, which was much crammed, leaving no elbow-room. There seemed to have been some omissions which had to be remedied by cramming us. However, we were all cheerful, and the proceedings were not over-long. The getting away was a crush, borne with equanimity by all but the Ambassadors, some of whom looked sulky, and some, especially Rustem, were querulous. The State Ball was much too crowded, but a fine spectacle—diamonds wonderful.'

D. July 17.—'I moved the second reading of the Education Bill, and roused no animosity, as far as appeared. The papers comment on the whole favourably on what I

said. Spencer followed, showing what Liberal policy is, and ought to reassure our friends in trusting us. Argyll was powerful in his way, and drew up Herschell in fervent heat to say some foolish things about religious teaching, which the Bishop of London disposed of. The work was done by 7.30.'

D. July 24.—'The Education Bill passed readily, and amendments were accepted. So probably ends my work, except the formal one of moving the third reading to-day. It has not been an agreeable one for many reasons, and I have certainly not been a hearty "free schooler." Cadogan's Garter announced. I wrote at once, and have a most grateful and friendly reply. I should certainly have put his claims high. He has served the Government without salary, and done some really good work, especially in Irish affairs. He is very acceptable to the House. Read my Education Bill a third time. May it tend to establish and consolidate freedom of religious teaching—definite and clear!'

D. August 25.—'After the bulletin in yesterday's morning papers I am not surprised to see the death of Raikes in the evening one.' (The Right Hon. H. C. Raikes, Postmaster-General and Member for Cambridge University.) 'He has run an honourable career, and shown great power of administration. He was very anxious for a higher office and a seat in the Cabinet, but the permanency of the Cabinet, if nothing else, prevented him from attaining that object. A seat for Cambridge witnessed to his merits, and the Post Office, amidst much unjust obloquy, has been well governed, and many great improvements made. As a Churchman his work has been well done, and he has always been to the front when needed. Should questions on Welsh disestablishment arise he will be sorely missed.'

He visited Balmoral on September 4, remaining in attendance until the 12th.

D. September 13, Gordon Castle.—'The Queen took a kindly farewell of me on Friday night, as did the Princesses and all the Household. A colourless visit, which does not leave vivid impressions—probably—most probably—the last I shall pay there. I have always had a good reception, and have no cause to complain.'

He remained at Gordon Castle for about a week, fishing almost daily without quite his usual success. He comments, as many others have done, on the capriciousness of the salmon, and his inability to explain it:

D. September 14.—'Capricious animal the fish! and why he is greedy in one pool, and ascetic or indifferent in another, I cannot explain.'

After a visit to his nephew Laurence Hardy at Cambusmore in Sutherlandshire, he returned home, arriving the day before his seventy-seventh birthday.

D. October 1.—'A 77th anniversary comes round, with how many blessings! God make me more sensible of them and of my responsibilities! The time must be short. May I during it earnestly fulfil them!'

D. October 2.—'Boulanger's suicide was the event of the morning. The horror which it used, and ought, to excite seems of the past. J. W. Lowther' (the present Speaker) 'is, as Ritchie foretold, Fergusson's successor at the Foreign Office.'

D. October 3.—'Stanhope in a note to me confirms the view of Smith's illness, and names Arthur Balfour as his necessary successor. I am afraid Smith can never resume

his arduous duties in the Commons. Gladstone at Newcastle! We shall, I suppose, have his programme to-day. To what a medley of monstrosities by the Liberal Federation he will set his seal!'

D. October 7.—'The death of W. H. Smith was telegraphed to me yesterday by his Secretary. Though I felt that he would not be able to resume his position in the House of Commons, yet I had no idea of imminent danger. He was a straightforward, honest man, and won the confidence of all by character and not genius. He was wise in council, and prudent: and we must feel his loss privately and publicly. I will not speculate yet, for one wants consideration. Balfour could not yet be spared from Ireland.'

D. October 8.—'Events thicken. Parnell dead, almost suddenly! Pope Hennessy, his first electioneering opponent, gone. Strange to see the effects, I do not say of the last, but of Smith's and Parnell's deaths.'

D. October 10.—'The memorial service for Mr. W. H. Smith was simple and impressive. The anthem "Comes at times" was lovely. A marvellous tribute to sterling worth and integrity! All Europe, and the United States, represented. Politicians of all parties swelled the throng, and partisanship as regards W. H. Smith has not existed.'

D. October 14.—'The gale raged through the night and is still high. Salisbury was to have crossed yesterday evening, and I hope he was able to do so. Cross writes from Balmoral of his own, the Queen's, and Salisbury's, deep regrets. He thinks Balfour must be leader in the House of Commons. It is of no use speculating. I hope whatever is arranged will be accepted by members of the Cabinet and the party.'

D. October 16.—'It seems clear that Balfour is to lead, and Goschen welcomes the position at Cambridge in a good

speech. All the Press admits Balfour's claims. A great future is before him.'

D. October 19.—'The Queen approves of Balfour as First Lord. The resignation of the Dean of Christ Church, and Mrs. Smith's Peerage also noted.'

D. November 25.—'The newspapers bring the news of Lytton's most sudden death yesterday afternoon. The doctors appear to have thought his illness passing off, but had not reckoned on a failing heart. He was a warm friend to me, and his ability was in many respects striking. As a diplomatist he has been very efficient, and I cannot think his policy in India wrong, though he was not personally acceptable to Anglo-Indians. The Afghan calamities were in no sense his fault, but they naturally told against him. He was deceived, as we all were, about finance.'

D. December 23.—'The Duke of Devonshire's death makes a great change to Liberal Unionists in the House of Commons. Hartington was a leader beyond cavil from supporters or opponents.'

D. December 31.—'The Grange rises, or rather gets more complete. May it be a happy home to those who inhabit it! I think the Government stands well with the educated public. Possibly the desire for new lamps may rob the country of Salisbury's wonder works in foreign lands. Personally I have nothing to desire, but I should grieve if such a change should come.'

The year 1892, the last of my father's long official career, began with another severe epidemic of influenza. It claimed an illustrious victim in Prince Albert Victor, whose recent betrothal had been received with unfeigned joy by the whole nation. My father received the sad news at Hatfield, where the Duke and Duchess of Teck were to have been his fellow guests.

D. January 12, 1892.—'Prince Victor's influenza will not, I hope, turn out to be severe, but it is a trial at this time. As I expected, the Royal visit to Hatfield is put off, but we are asked to go nevertheless, and shall do so, if all be well, to-morrow. Prince Victor going on favourably.'

D. Hatfield, January 14.—'Much consternation prevails at the bulletins from Sandringham, and up to late last evening they were indeed depressing. One does not like to give up hope for one so young, and with such prospects, but any way the illness is of a character which threatens to sap the constitution. I dread to see this morning's papers. The party here is not large, and mainly may be said to be family. Influenza and cold keep Lady Granby, and Knutsford. I suppose had the Tecks come there would have been more to meet them. They must be in deep distress, I fear. . . . "Our beloved son passed away at 9 A.M." So telegraphed the Prince of Wales this morning. What a cruel tragedy!'

D. January 15.—'I telegraphed to the Queen, Prince, and Princess Mary, and had grateful replies. Alas! indeed. The news seems to have spread consternation, and touched the national heart deeply. It hardly bears thinking of. I spent a quiet day walking alone, then with Lady Cranborne, and after lunch with Salisbury, who walks slowly, and told me that since his influenza he had never got complete use of his legs. I proposed to him in the morning to go away, but he was so earnest in his pressure that I agreed to remain until to-morrow morning. Cardinal Manning died yesterday, He has filled a great place, but, irrespective of religion, I distrusted his social views much.'

D. January 20.—'Just come from our memorial service, which was simple, solemn, and touching. On the 12th of December Prince Eddy warmly shook hands with me, his

countenance bright and hopeful. In one little month what a change! God temper the wind to the great sufferer!'

On February 6 he visited Osborne for a Council. Her Majesty talked much of her great sorrow. She herself, she mentioned, had been with those affected with influenza, but was untouched in any of the years of its prevalence.

I may pass very briefly over the Session of this year. The shadow of the coming dissolution hung over the Parliament. Many Cabinets are recorded, but there is little of interest noted in the entries:

D. May 28.—'At the Cabinet found Salisbury sound in body and mind, and making light of an accident which might have involved serious issues. We discussed dissolution, which has practically been agreed upon with Gladstone and Harcourt, and I hope their rank and file will act in accordance with their wishes. They evidently want the struggle over.'

He received the honorary degree of LL.D. of Cambridge University on the occasion of the new Duke of Devonshire's installation as Chancellor. Among those similarly honoured on this occasion were H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. John Morley.

D. June 13.—'Just back from Cambridge, to which Evelyn and I went on Friday last. We set off hoping for a bright evening stroll at Cambridge. Just as we reached it, however, a thunderstorm was on, and, as the train could not all get into the station, we had to run through the rain. There was but one vivid flash and peal near, and an undergraduate of Christ's fell a victim. Sad for the Vice-Chancellor, who is the head of that College, and takes much interest in his men. We were very cordially received at King's College by Mr. Austen Leigh, who, with the

Provost and his sister, did all in their power to make our stay agreeable, as it really was. We managed a short walk after all on Friday evening. On Saturday evening I attended the Chancellor's disjointed levée, which ought to have lasted about twenty minutes, but, from the individuality of it, lasted forty-five. Thence we passed to the lunch at the Fitzwilliam Museum, which was cheerful, and bright with the ladies' dresses and Doctors' gowns. We had to hurry off to the Senate House, and in our preparatory costumes took part in the procession, which was rather effective; and great crowds saw it. The House was crammed, but the galleries were not very witty, and only rather interrupted the Public Orator, who did his disagreeable duty well. H.R.H. had a warm reception, the rest of us, except Chamberlain, moderate. A garden party in Trinity Gardens wanted sunshine, and, at last, had a slight sprinkle of rain. Evelyn and the ladies started for the boat races, and we to get ready for the Trinity dinner, which was a very admirable one in all respects, and especially in the Master's finished speeches. I sat next to him, and found him most friendly, referring with affection to Henry' (Sir Henry Graham, an old Harrovian), 'and interested in his boys, of whose promise I told him. I spoke from what had fallen from others earlier, and what I said was kindly taken, but I did not quite please myself. Morley was good, Chamberlain discreet. There was a reception afterwards and we got to King's at 12. Sunday was a dripping day. Early Communion, not much attended, at 8. The Chapel and services were too attractive to let us divide our attendances either at Matins or Evensong. The visitors kept us in, but we got a very pleasant walk at last by Newnham, and Selwyn, beyond the river—quite in country. We came up this morning

with the Attorney-General, whom I much like' (Sir Richard Webster, now Lord Alverstone), 'having most pleasant memories of our host and hostess, and of Cambridge welcome generally.'

The Queen's Speech was settled on the longest day, June 21, and on same day the date of the dissolution, June 28, was actually announced. My father was suffering from a bad throat, but he took his part in platform oratory until the actual dissolution, having great receptions at Cranbrook and Tunbridge in his own county, at Hull, and at Burgess Hill in the East Grinstead division of Sussex, for which I was then the sitting member and candidate. On the last day of the half-year he records his anticipations of the coming election, which turned out to be very nearly accurate.'

D. June 30.—'While Jane and I were quietly reading, the King of Roumania was announced, and greeted us most cordially, recurring to his recollections of Hemsted, and ourselves, and enquiring of our family. It really was most touching to have such a recognition—so simple, earnest, and unaffected. With this visit this book may end, for the scenes are now being shifted for a new act. What will it be? If I may judge from what I hear, the experts on neither side are very satisfied, and it is said that Akers Douglas, a good authority, rather inclines to an adverse majority of 28 or 30. After my experience of 1880 I shall be surprised at nothing, but I do not lose hope. For me personally official life is practically over, and I am ready and willing to make way for younger men, as indeed I always have been. Salisbury well knows it. All is in God's hands. May He guide events to the good of the country, and His glory! Amen.'

Mr. Gladstone, Lord Morley tells us, counted on a

majority of at least three figures, but the conjecture of Mr. Akers Douglas turned out to be much nearer the mark. With 81 Irish Nationalists there was a majority of 40 in favour of Home Rule. England was faithful to the Unionists, returning a majority of 72 for Lord Salisbury, but Ireland, Scotland, and Wales turned the balance. It was apparent that the days of the Government were numbered, and only the question of the method of their retirement remained. The Cabinet met to decide this point.

D. July 29.—'Our Cabinet was fully attended. We discussed:

'1. A Queen's Speech? The precedents seemed all one way—in favour, and so it was decided with one or two dissentients.

'2. Detailed? Only one was for that. Short, and bringing out enough to force a vote of no confidence with no side issue. Left to Salisbury and Balfour to settle. The latter had his own view, but will act on our decision. I expect that Harcourt and Gladstone will agree to the vote being taken as we desire, and they would have made a fuss as to unconstitutional action if we had had no Speech. It is amusing to hear that they claim to be the only people that respect the Constitution.'

On August 4 my father received the unexpected spontaneous offer of the honour of an Earldom, a recognition of his services which he highly appreciated. The Prime Minister's letter is copied in one to my mother:

Cranbrook to Lady Cranbrook. August 4, 1892.

'Will he never have done writing? you will say, when you see No. 3 of this date. Let me copy the letter which I received on coming in from dinner at the Club:

'"*Private.*

'"MY DEAR CRANBROOK

'"The Queen has intimated her intention of offering you an Earldom at the close of the present Ministry. I do not know whether the offer will be agreeable to you, but I am very glad to be the channel of communicating Her Majesty's gracious intention to you, as it gives me an opportunity of referring to the great debt the party owes you for brilliant services through a long and eloquent career. I am sure they will be glad at this mark of Her Majesty's recognition."

'Is not this gratifying? and I admit that, though I am content with my present honour and title, I feel a pleasure in lifting you another step outwardly, for you have that within you, darling, which passes show, and which dignities cannot exalt. I cannot take a new name, but I suppose that Stewart must choose a title for himself. I do not deserve all this and really did not expect it, but Salisbury's words are pleasing to me, rating me at a worth I do not assume.

'Love to all,

'Your fond C.

'No hint must go beyond nearest and dearest. No children's talk. Be careful.'

Cranbrook to Salisbury.

'*August 4, 1892.*

'MY DEAR SALISBURY

'You have taken me by surprise. I have always felt myself over-paid for my services, which have been heartily rendered. Such an unsolicited honour, however, I do not see that I can decline, and I am glad that the offer

should come to me through you, with whom it has been a real pleasure to me to act, as you have always given me an ungrudging confidence, and I take this as a proof of it. Although my official career is over, it will, if my health is preserved, be my wish to follow you in Opposition, or, as I may fairly hope when you have had your due rest, in a new career of Ministerial usefulness to your country.

'Yours very truly,

'CRANBROOK.'

The Queen's Speech was read on August 8, and an amendment of 'want of confidence' was moved by Mr. Asquith, then an unofficial member, but destined to obtain Cabinet Office at a bound in the coming Administration as Home Secretary. The motion was carried by a majority of 40 votes, 350 to 310, and the Government at once resigned.

D. August 13.—'The Cabinet did not last long, as, of course, Salisbury only wanted formal assent to his visit to Osborne. We cordially voted him our thanks, and it was quite a merry meeting. As Eric Barrington said, Salisbury showed indecent joy at his release. I doubt if it will be a long one.'

On the 18th my father had his last interview as Minister with his Royal Mistress. The account of the interview at which he gave up the Seals may fitly conclude this chapter, and the record of his official career:

D. August 19.—'I shall not forget my last interview as Minister. The Queen began by thanking me for my picture, which, she hoped, I should see at Windsor, and trusted to have me often there. Then she exclaimed, "Oh, my dear Lord Cranbrook, I cannot tell how sorry I am to lose you or part from you," burst into tears, and held out her hand, which, kneeling down and feeling deeply affected, I kissed,

expressing my deep gratitude for all her goodness to me in the long past years. When she recovered herself she began to talk of her new Premier—how changed he was in appearance, in conversation, and manner.'

'And so ends my official career, beginning in 1858, ending in 1892. On the whole a very interesting one, which has brought me in connection with many eminent men, and made me many friends. It was time for me to make room for more pushing and stirring spirits, for I am clearly supposed not to have done my own work—none of which, I can conscientiously say, has been neglected, executive or legislative, nor have I to my knowledge, shirked any responsibility, but naturally men look to the future, and to those who are likely to bear a part in it. I hope, if I live and have health, not to be out of political life, though out of office.'

CHAPTER XXXIII

MR. GLADSTONE'S LAST GOVERNMENT—LORD ROSEBERY'S GOVERNMENT (1892—1895)

THE story of the rest of 1892 may be given very shortly, indeed I have arrived at a period of my father's career which only needs a brief sketch. He visited the Dolomites in the autumn with my sisters, and greatly enjoyed his trip. He notes the death of Tennyson on October 8:

D. 'Tennyson's death is the event of the week—a calm and peaceful end. His remains are to be buried in Poets' Corner, occupying the last space. I esteem his work greatly, and believe posterity will not neglect it, but who can tell? I know how much pleasure I have derived.'

The autumn and winter was spent at home with the usual round of entertainments and shooting. The first event of 1893 was the marriage of his youngest daughter, Evelyn, to the eldest son of his colleague and neighbour, Mr. Goschen, which took place at St. George's Church, Benenden, on January 26, the ceremony being performed by his old friend Bishop Wilkinson. Parliament met at the end of the month.

D. January 31, 1893.—'Salisbury's dinner was as good as usual. I sat in my old seat "by request," though no longer having the precedence. Cadogan and Knutsford on either side. Halsbury is still on the Riviera. The Speech is a Gladstonian specimen, and its terms will draw forth much

criticism, especially the words relating to Ireland. I went on to the Duchess of Devonshire's reception, the first held by a Duchess for nearly 100 years. Quite an event! Took my seat as an Earl with the usual somewhat comic ceremony, robed, and decorated with collar. It was quite the day's work of the officials, as nine were introduced. Brassey moved the address. Salisbury was weighty, humorous, and telling. The Government presents a piteous spectacle—about 25 all told.'

The debate was adjourned for a discussion on Ireland.

D. February 2.—'I had been asked to speak after Herschell, but he only ended at a time when it had been arranged to adjourn for some of our fervid orators. I was not anxious to intervene, but, at Ashbourne's request, agreed if necessary. Herschell spoke cleverly, and with warmth, but left many openings.'

I give the next extract, which refers to the wedding of Lord Cadogan's eldest son Viscount Chelsea to the daughter of Lord Alington, as it contains one or two characteristic touches:

D. February 9.—'On Tuesday I went to London and attended the Cadogan wedding. A garrulous old person got next to me, and interlarded the service with loud silly remarks. I was deaf and dumb in appearance. He ended by saying "It looks like a heathen temple." Certainly he did not treat it as a Christian building being used for a Christian service!'

Easter was early this year, Ash Wednesday falling upon February 15. The second Home Rule Bill was introduced by Mr. Gladstone on February 13. It differed mainly from the Bill of 1886, which had excluded the Irish Members from Westminster, by providing that Ireland should send eighty

representatives to the Imperial Parliament, who would, however, vote only when matters in which Ireland was concerned were under consideration. This clause, as my father had anticipated, failed to obtain acceptance.

D. February 14.—'Well! I have read Gladstone's oration, and I find in it an impracticable scheme, which could only be made plausible by an optimist trust in the eighty disloyalists who make the majority of the Irish misrepresentation. His balance of the admission or non-admission of Irish M.P.s to the Imperial Parliament would be ludicrous, as he seemed to feel, if it were not serious. The more the Bill is discussed the more objections to it will come to the surface. Will the Gladstonians hold together? For the second reading probably at all events. Will the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists undergo continuously the needful attendance to destroy the Bill in Committee? I have my fears. There must, at all events, be prolonged discussion. I hope the Lords may be saved from intervention. If called upon, may they be fearless and true!'

He met Mr. Gladstone at Grillion's on February 20:

D. February 21.—'There was a muster at Grillion's, Gladstone in the Chair. He was deserted on one side, so I performed the heroic, but Grillionic, duty of moving to the vacant chair. He was affable, and seemed to me, barring his deafness, extremely well. He talked no politics, unless it were with Lord Acton on his other side, and as far as I caught the conversation it was literary. With me, general subjects and persons, Magee, McColl, Palmerston, &c. He thought the Bishop had brought a great amount of eloquence to the Lords. Lord Mount-Edgcumbe, upon my other side, is always good if not brilliant. Herschell,

Ashbourne, Norton, Chitty, Bradford, Lyall, and others. I am not satisfied with the "tone" of the party. It is depressed, and full of dark anticipations. Such a spirit is not up to the conflict before us. Edward Stanhope, with whom I walked home, feels it, but does not suggest the tonic. Saunderson was rather plaintive on the subject.'

He mentions going through some old family papers with his sisters:

'They have been looking through old papers and letters of my father, but there are no discoveries, though many things of interest. His father writes him very pleasing letters.'

He attended the Commons' meeting at the Carlton, when an old breach was healed:

D. March 8.—'The tone was good and resolute, and Randolph accepted Balfour as his leader and trusted friend.'

He went to Oxford on the 13th, and spoke at the United Club dinner:

D. March 13.—'Went to Oxford on Saturday with young Mowbray, his father not well enough to come. Talbot took his place, and all went well. I was well listened to, and, as far as I could judge, approved by my audience. I did not mince my views, but spoke out, and, I hope, without offence. Brodrick, and Whitmore, spoke well and usefully. The two undergraduates, Lord Balcarres and Liversedge, are very promising.'

He was back in the House on April 19, 'Primrose Day.' 'I rejoiced to see Salisbury so well, and other friends, who all exclaimed at my healthy looks.'

The debate on the second reading of the Irish Bill which

had been going on since April 6 resulted in a majority of 43 for the measure, 347 to 304. The same day saw the death of a very old colleague and antagonist.

D. April 22.—'A majority of 43 pronounced for the destruction of the United Kingdom this morning. An expected but not less shameful result. Lord Derby did not live to hear of it, as he died at 8.30 P.M. yesterday. He had great qualities, much marred by timidity in action. Peace be with his memory! I have regretted speaking harshly of him after his secession. I ought to have made more allowance for his nature and essentially different principles.'

The debate on the Irish Bill dragged on till September 1, when the third reading was carried by 34 only. The interest shifted to the House of Lords. My father was asked to speak, and did so on the 8th, when he opened the debate.

D. September 7.—'Argyll was powerful, but physically unequal to the long task. He faltered at the end. What I heard of Ashbourne was good. Londonderry spoke unusually well; Cross pointed, and vigorous on finance.'

D. September 8.—'Selborne was admirable, and showed much physical power for over an hour, after which he manifested fatigue, and his voice rather failed. Rosebery made no defence of the Bill, was flippant at first, and when serious showed a doubting mind, and admitted want of enthusiasm.'

D. September 9.—'I began the debate at 4.30 yesterday, and was kindly received and supported through my speech by my friends, who appeared to be more than content with it, and at the close I was long and warmly applauded. Many spoke to me about it, and Rosebery sent me a most

graceful little note. I had feared for my throat which had been unusually troublesome, but I found no difficulty in making myself heard for 1½ hours. Knowing how many speeches were coming, and the need of an early division, I shuffled many notes aside and left unsaid much that I should have liked to add. I dined with Richmond at the Travellers', and came back in good time. I was sorry that Mowbray had to be so short, for his points were excellent. Herschell was not at his best, but made some defence. Salisbury in parts pungent, but I have heard him more effective. Kimberley was plausible, but unfair in many respects. The division was a wonderful sight, and ended 419 to 41. Surely a grand independent testimony against the Bill.'

The verbatim report of the debate in the *Times* is preserved with my father's rough notes, from which, I see, on comparison with the speech as delivered, that he largely departed. He never wrote his speeches, but jotted down headings, and copied quotations from such speeches and books as he intended to cite. It would be an instructive exercise for young Members of Parliament to compare the two documents, and note their relations to one another, but such lengthy matter cannot be inserted here. It was certainly a wonderful effort for a man in his 79th year, troubled at the time with a throat weakness. The *Times* describes the speech in its leading article as 'a vigorous and eloquent one, recalling the days when Lord Cranbrook, as Mr. Gathorne Hardy, crossed swords with Mr. Gladstone himself.' Lord Rosebery's 'most graceful little note,' which he valued and preserved, runs as follows:

'My dear Lord Cranbrook

'I can assure you we heard you with quite as

much pleasure and admiration as your own side. I only wish you would tell me how to be young.

'Believe me,

'Yours sincerely,

'ROSEBERY.'

I will only quote the peroration:

'This Bill is one which the Government themselves admit will not be final. It is a Bill provisional in many most important particulars, and must come up for reconsideration. We agree that we have solemn duties in connection with Ireland. You despair. We hope. You have given up, we are faithful to our Imperial destiny, and believe, though it may take time, that we have the means to redress every grievance of which Ireland can complain. Now, my Lords, I will conclude by quoting some words of that great tribune of the people, Mr. Bright, as they exactly express my feelings:

'"Save its population" (Ireland's) "from the future conduct of the men who are answerable for much of its present sufferings, and for all the disorder by which it is now afflicted and disgraced. There are two millions of loyal people in Ireland. Let us be firm in our resolve, and, if it be possible—and I believe it is possible—save them from expulsion from the guardianship of the Crown of the United Kingdom and from the shelter and justice of the Imperial Parliament."'

Parliament adjourned on September 22 to meet again for an autumn Session in November, the rejection of the Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords having been accepted with the utmost calmness.

D. October 19.—'The death of Macmahon removes a

noble spirit, so far as one can judge from his outer life. French hysteria was not his disease, and one can hardly imagine his sharing in this frantic Russianism. It is too effervescent to last.'

It will be seen from the next entry that the pressure now put upon the Lord Chancellor and the complaints at his refusal to yield to it are no new grievance:

D. November 16.—'Herschell's snub to the Radical M.P.s is satisfactory. The Bench-packers pretend fairness. Lords-Lieutenant of their own kidney have been plentiful, but, while by no means limiting numbers, they have not found enough Liberals in the classes from which choice is made to give a majority, and now the Liberal Unionists are treated by the new school as Conservatives. From the Chancellor's account, county M.P.s have recommended men more accustomed to stand opposite to Justices than to sit with them. On that subject, too, Sir Charles Russell has told some home truths.'

D. December 23.—'Edward Stanhope's sudden death moves us all greatly, when we think of his wife especially. He had great ability, courage, integrity, and has always been a warm friend. God help his widow!'

D. Christmas Day.—'I have nearly got through the first volume of the Life of W. H. Smith. I am greatly taken with his simple strong character, its integrity, laborious search after truth &c. It puts one to shame.'

The first important events of 1894 were the acceptance of the Lords' amendments to the Local Government Bill by Mr. Gladstone, his last threatening speech in the Commons, and his retirement from office.

D. March 2, 1894.—'This morning brings a surprise,

for last night Gladstone threateningly accepted the Lords' amendments, to be hereafter repealed and an undying struggle begun. Balfour responded well and Randolph Churchill backed him. The morning papers will be interesting, and I am relieved of a journey to London to-day. The papers are full of the retirement, and the *Times* states boldly that the old man has made his last speech as Premier. We shall see. The Government is evidently all in a stir, as well as the disorganised party, divided on a future leader. If it was his last Ministerial speech, he ends at the bottom of the hill down which he has been descending for fifty years. A legacy of strife on an organic change going to the root of the Constitution.'

D. March 5.—'The morning papers only confirm Rosebery's Premiership, on which I have written to congratulate his mother, who may well be proud.'

D. March 13.—'Dined with Salisbury and some 30 Peers, and found much cheerful conversation with friends. Rumours were going of Rosebery attracting Liberal Unionists by a *coup*, but I felt and said that he could not give up the democratic programme, and he justified this by his out-and-out adoption of it, including the attack upon the House of Lords, in his speech to the party yesterday, and indeed in the House of Lords, where, however, he distinctly varied the Home Rule condition by expressing his concurrence with Salisbury that England must be converted before it could be adopted. That pregnant remark will bring forth! Salisbury spoke forcibly, and handled the delicate subject of eulogy of Gladstone, Kimberley, and Rosebery, most delicately and admirably.'

D. October 14.—'The Provost and Fellows unanimously

offer me an honorary Fellowship at Oriel. It comes late, but is kindly meant, and of course with pleasure accepted.'

The year 1894 ended with every prospect of a speedy change of Ministers. A letter from Lord Salisbury bringing his New Year's greetings indicates that he did not look forward to such a change with great hopefulness:

Salisbury to Cranbrook, January 1, 1895.

'I am not at all happy at the prospects which politics present, and am not sure that I should think them materially mended by the advent of a Conservative Government to power. Governments can do so little and prevent so little nowadays. Power has passed from the hands of Statesmen, but I should be very much puzzled to say into whose hands it has passed. It is all pure drifting. As we go down stream, we can occasionally fend off a collision; but where are we going?'

Lord Randolph Churchill died on January 24. My father had noted his sad condition just before the close of 1894:

D. January 25.—'Randolph Churchill died yesterday morning. He appears to have had great vitality, and to have struggled against his incurable malady in a manner which surprised his medical attendant. He had ceased to be a political force when he left England, but at one time he was a strong one, as I found when at different large places before 1885. A full and fair estimate of his character and powers will come hereafter. At present one cannot but feel the end of a career striking through short, to the exclusion of the discussion of the man.'

D. February 26.—'Influenza seems to be ravaging London. Rosebery, Balfour, and a host of Members of

Parliament, are sufferers. Lord Aberdare died yesterday after a short illness: I do not know whether from influenza. When in chambers together we little thought of meeting in the Chamber of Lords! He was of a kindly nature, and, out of politics, likeable. He took up Welsh views latterly, and was made much of. His Chancellorship of the Welsh University has been sadly short. He would have been 80 in April—a warning, and how many are coming?'

The County Council elections in London came on in March, in deep snow. My father was for the first time an absentee from the poll, reluctantly yielding to the earnest entreaty of those around him. He felt strongly the duty of taking part in such contests, and always made a point of giving his vote if possible.

D. March 2.—'I meant to vote, and hope I am not deserting duty, but I agree that in such weather it would be rash to spend the day in trains. St. George's, Hanover Square, ought to be safe.'

D. March 4.—'In London, Council elections have gone well, and we have done so much that we long for a little more to meet the weight of Aldermen. It is distressing, however, to see how comparatively few do their part. I was not missed, as our majority was great in St. George's.'

D. March 6.—'Influenza still enrols victims, among them a man of note—Sir Henry Rawlinson, at 85. He was an honest, straightforward man, with clear views on Eastern questions, founded perhaps on facts of less weight than they were once; but he had a sound judgment, and was not of the "masterly inactivity" school. What a phrase for inertness and refusal to look forward!'

D. March 20.—'One of the curious results of this

fatal season is the death of Alfred German Reed, Corney Grain, and Mrs. German Reed, whom I remember so well as Priscilla Horton. A few days have carried off practically the whole staff of entertainers.'

A by-election at Leamington, consequent on the elevation of Mr. Arthur Peel to the rank of Viscount on his relinquishing the Speakership of the House of Commons, led to some friction with the Liberal Unionists. The dispute was happily terminated by the withdrawal of the Conservative candidate, and the election of Mr. Alfred Lyttelton introduced a distinguished figure to the political stage.

D. April 26.—'Peel in a manly letter withdraws from Leamington, and I hope affairs will be made smooth there. Balfour was not easy in his mind, and said that Chamberlain was terribly hurt at the attacks of small people and even talked of withdrawing from public life. There is really no cause. He never pretended to become Conservative, while remaining Unionist.'

My father was still very active in Church matters. He spoke at a great meeting at Brighton in May in support of the Church in Wales. On the death of Lord Selborne he was again pressed to accept the Chairmanship of the House of Laymen, but of course declined the honour.

D. May 6.—'Lady Kimberley died on Saturday. What a bead-roll of deaths this spring! The morning papers add another to the list, Lord Selborne. A man of sterling qualities, deep religious feeling, and high tone in all things. "Somewhat suddenly" he is taken, but at eighty-three he must have contemplated no distant end; and was no doubt prepared for it. He was trusted and loved by many, and his firm resistance to late schemes has had great influence.'

D. May 12.—'The *Times* announces that Wolmer will try to ignore his Peerage, and to remain in the House of Commons, but if there is the least doubt a legal settlement may be desirable.'

(The attempt failed.)

D. May 15.—'Yesterday, after a ride, I attended the House of Laymen, and seconded the tribute to Lord Selborne. Cave gave notice to move Lord Ashcombe Chairman to-day. . . . Norton put forward my name, and there was a practically unanimous, and gratifying, response, but I had told him before, and feel, that the objections to my undertaking the duty are manifold and insuperable, age being a not inconsiderable one, and the dear mother's health a greater.'

D. May 16.—'I attended the House of Laymen, where Ashcombe was unanimously elected Chairman, and, I feel sure, will do well.'

D. May 24.—'The Queen completes her 76th year. May she see many more in as good health as at present! The birthday honours have no Peerages, or promotion therein, among them. Irving knighted! What a change from old times!'

D. May 29.—'The Derby Day opens brightly. I had to dine yesterday at the Merchant Taylors' dinner to honorary members. It was well attended, and I sat between Teck (whose prospect of a speech impaired his conversational powers) and Dunraven, who was cheery enough. Salisbury was the orator, very vigorous, pungent, and impressive. I had the House of Lords on my back. Rosebery won the Derby! His luck is on the course.'

Lord Rosebery's 'luck on the course' did not follow

him to the House of Commons, where the Session had been a very unsuccessful one, and many rumours prevailed of dissension in the Cabinet. A snap division on the supply of cordite, moved by Mr. Brodrick, now Lord Midleton, was carried against the Government by 132 votes to 125 in a thin House, and they jumped at the opportunity of escape from office, although they might easily have reversed the vote on report. By-elections had been unfavourable to them, and the Diary notes 'the frequent speeches of Devonshire and Chamberlain, forecasting a Unionist Government, in which Liberal Unionists are to have responsibility as well as authority.'

D. June 22.—'The event of last night takes precedence of personal matters. The defeat of the Government by 7 on Campbell-Bannerman's salary may lead to serious results. It has its comic as well as grave side. I will not forecast the issue, though I fancy C. B. will not easily be persuaded to resume his place. He had just done himself credit by his statement on the Duke's impending retirement—an eulogy well deserved. I think H.R.H. has done right.'

(The above refers to the retirement of the Duke of Cambridge from the post of Commander-in-Chief. Lord Rosebery had decided to recommend Sir Redvers Buller as his successor, but Viscount Wolseley received the appointment from the new Government.)

D. June 24.—'As yet we wait for authentic political information, but it is reported that Resignation is the line taken. The newspapers will soon give some news. They confirm the resignation, and Salisbury has been sent for. I can look on at his difficult arrangement with the Liberal Unionists, and preparation for the Dissolution, without the excitement of personal feeling, and would

help if I could unofficially. I am deeply interested in the experiment which must be tried, which I hope disinterested Conservatives will aid.'

D. June 25.—'Nothing but the resignation was announced last night. What little had to be said fell to me—probably for the last time. This morning only brings the information that Salisbury's acceptance is suspended on the question whether fair play will be given to him by acquiescence in the Vote on Account needful for the Dissolution which ought to come at once. It is said that we shall get no assurance; if so, serious complications may arise, but I think the country will be alive to the facts.'

D. June 26.—'George Goschen brought from his father an outline of what was being done, but Salisbury only kissed hands yesterday. To-day Writs will be moved, perhaps not without opposition. We shall see. Harcourt was "nasty" yesterday. I only hope fairness will be shown to justify the course taken. The Dissolution must be the goal, never lost sight of or deferred. I cannot find a thought of personal feeling at my being out of the strife. It seems to come so naturally, and I have not varied since leaving off in 1892. Young men should have their chance, and Salisbury knew that at any time my place was at his disposal. I have had kind things said to me, which is well.'

D. June 27.—'Salisbury writes me a pleasant letter in reply to a short one from me. His task he sees to be very difficult. "Many sore backs."'

At this time my father was suffering from a gouty affection of the knee, which kept him physically inactive for about a month, and sent him to Kissingen in the

autumn, from which place he returned completely recovered. He watched the formation of the Ministry, with deep interest, but as an outsider only, and had many letters and visits from those who were still in the thick of the fray.

D. July 5.—'I have been leading a very tranquil life, moving only in my wheeled chair. Richmond, Cadogan, Mowbray, Norton, Balfour of Burleigh, and others, have visited me. I have each day had less pain, and am very thankful for complete ease in that respect. The Government grows, the Cabinet of 19 is abstractedly much too large for a consultative body, but the main work will be done by sections. Some of the minor offices are doubtfully filled. The Liberal Unionists have a large share. We must wait, but I fear jealousies and self-seeking.'

He followed the elections return with absorbing interest, the events of each day are recorded, but need not be quoted at length. 'Harcourt out by 1,000. What a victory!' 'As details come to hand, our successes raise not unreasonable hopes that the country is determined to have done with the extravagance of the late Government. If London speaks to-day as the country did on Saturday the game ought to be won decisively.' 'London is doing splendidly.' By July 17 comes the final pæan: 'England has indeed vindicated the Lords and the Opposition.'

D. July 23.—'Salisbury writes: "Though our majority will be larger and more homogeneous than in 1886, the difficulties that lie before us are greater. To some extent we shall be invited to enter upon a legislative ocean that is unknown to us, and the steering may be difficult. However, it is all in the day's work. Whatever happens to us, I think the position of the House of Lords is considerably

strengthened." Yes, the united national party will have to make mutual concessions, and there will be plenty of carping critics in and outside of it.'

The new Government obtained a majority of 152 over Liberals and Nationalists combined. The Duke of Devonshire became President of the Council, Mr. Chamberlain Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Goschen First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Salisbury combined the offices of Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Balfour again became First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons. My father for the first time for many years occupied a back seat when Parliament met on August 12, 1895.

D.—'Was unfortunate in not hearing Salisbury, but he would have an easy task. Our mover and seconder' (of the Address) 'did admirably, though so young. I sat with Rutland and Knutsford, behind Ministers for the first time since 1858.'

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE LAST STAGE (1895—1906)

WITH the General Election of July 1895 Lord Cranbrook's career as a active politician ended definitely. Although he quitted office finally, and with no 'animus revertendi,' in 1892, he took his part in Opposition as an ex-member of the Cabinet until a new Unionist administration was in power with the sanction and full support of the country. He lived another eleven years in full possession of his faculties, and continued to take an active interest in politics to the last. But his life had now become a private one, although his influence was great, especially upon Church matters and appointments, as is shown by a vast amount of correspondence with those high in authority. I shall deal very briefly with this last period, giving only such extracts and correspondence as relate to public events of interest, or domestic incidents of paramount importance in the narrative.

D. October 2, 1895.—'I see the papers speak of my having declined a seat in the Cabinet. The fact is that in 1892 Salisbury knew from me that I felt my official career was over, for, whatever my powers, I came to the conclusion that younger men pressing for entrance should not be barred by an octogenarian.'

D. March 21, 1896.—'The death of good old George Richmond announced at 86. He was a sterling man, and, if we could, we should have seen much more of him.

He was a very welcome guest, and a most agreeable companion. Archdeacon Denison "sinking." A loveable man with all his fighting propensities.'

D. March 22.—'Denison's death reported—"at peace with all." His was a generous character.'

He was much moved by the atrocious massacres in Armenia, and wrote to Lord Salisbury on the subject. The following entries appear during the month of September:

'The death of Lobanoff on his way from Vienna removes a stirring mind from European politics; but probably his successor will be imbued with his opinions. Still force of character such as his gave him great weight in all late deliberations, especially with Turkey. What a decrepit power, or worse, for it uses its force cruelly!'

'There is a rising storm of anger against the Sultan, and not without reason, for the atrocities under his rule, if not with his authority, are horrible. I wrote to Salisbury on the subject. From what he replies I gather that Austria and Russia are the impediments to decisive action. They want to keep the creaking machine a while longer. Gladstone is using bad language, but declines to take part in public action, which he stimulates.'

'Rosebery writes, temperately but strongly, on the Turkish iniquities, no *party* move will have his support. I know that Salisbury has done the possible unless England is to undertake a solitary crusade, and involve the world in massacres more frightful even than these which stir the blood.'

'The growls which have been rising in all parts are beginning to become thunder on the Armenian question. A great movement is coming, but would people have England at war with all the world, or a crusader?'

'The Armenian question goes on, but Lord Rosebery has written a really statesmanlike letter which ought to cool the extravagance of wild orators. He is a contrast to Gladstone, who vaguely scolds.'

D. September 21.—'It seems that the Pope has condemned English Orders, which neither surprises nor distresses me, as it might do if I had the smallest faith in his infallibility. Unity is not to be contemplated through him, or the corruption to which he assents. I hope that we shall go on our way, as did the best Churchmen of other days, looking to primitive creeds to bind men in one, and not to the mediæval additions. There can be no excuse for tampering with Rome any more, as I doubt if there has been.'

On September 23 he heard of the death of Alexander Orr, his wife's eldest brother, and his own first Oxford friend, to whose invitation to Ireland he owed the many years of happy married life now about to draw to a close. He had been an admirable Parish Priest and was much beloved and respected by all who knew him.

D. September 23.—'There seems some doubt whether the Queen has not completed the longest reign of English monarchs, on account of the 29th of February. I fancy to-morrow is the real day, but we may be thankful for such a reign, and pray for its continuance. . . . Alexander Orr passed away peacefully at 8 this morning. He asked Kathleen' (his daughter) 'to read him a prayer he had used 50 years for a holy and happy death. Who can say that prayer is not answered?'

D. September 25.—'I telegraphed to the Queen "thankfulness, and hope" and she replied, "Many thanks for Lady Cranbrook and your kind words."'

D. October 8.—'Lord Rosebery resigns his leadership

and will speak out as a free man. I suppose Gladstone pushes him from the stage by his irresponsible interference. Harcourt in his speeches never alludes to him! He has acted, so far as I am a judge, like a man who was determined that in foreign affairs, involving the life of his country, he would not rashly yield to mere sentiment, but check its rush to ruin. I personally have admired his letters, and his conduct as a statesman. His Whip in the Lords, Lord Kensington, has fallen by a sudden death. A new interest in politics may modify the wild ideas of Non-conformist divines, not to mention some English ones.'

D. October 11.—'Rosebery's speech struck me as worthy of the occasion, calm, dignified, firm. I could not help sending him a short note to thank him for an effort to stay the madness of the people.'

Rosebery to Cranbrook.

'*October 17.*

'MY DEAR LORD CRANBROOK

'I am very grateful for your note, which I should have answered before had I not been overwhelmed by a cyclone of letters, before which I have succumbed.

'I have tried to do my duty in this matter, and I saw the call, as I believe, very clearly; therefore it was easy to do. But none the less grateful am I for the friendly words of one for whom I have so respectful a cordiality, and so cordial a respect, as yourself.

'Believe me,

'Yours sincerely,

'ROSEBERY.'

In granting me permission to print this letter Lord Rosebery wrote as follows:

'*January 13, 1910.*

'I always felt the deepest respect and affection for your father though I knew him so little. But I suspect he inspired those sentiments everywhere.'

On October 12 he received the intelligence of the sudden death of the Archbishop of Canterbury—Benson—a warm personal friend.

D. October 12.—'On coming in from a ride I met the dear mother looking perturbed and sad. No wonder! The dear Archbishop's sudden death yesterday is to us a real sorrow in all aspects; words fail me to speak of it.'

He was one of the pall-bearers at the funeral, which took place at Canterbury on the 16th.

D. October 18.—'The day was of the worst, but the ceremony, in which I acted as a Pall Bearer, was admirably arranged and carried out: to me it was impressive, and, as Mrs. Benson says in writing to me, uplifting. It was pathetic to see her between her sons kneeling at the open grave during the committal to it, and I heard her voice joining in the "Nunc dimittis" as it was sung by the retiring choir. I met many friends, and no doubt missed many, for the assembly was vast.'

D. October 26.—'I never thought the objection of age would be waived in the appointment to the Archbishopric. Temple is close upon 75, but I cannot deny his vigour and intellectual fitness. I have written my "loyal allegiance."'

He became a warm friend and supporter of Archbishop Temple, as he had been of his predecessor. Many letters bear testimony to their frequent and cordial consultations. Their first meeting after his nomination to the Primacy was

at a Conference on Education in London, when my father, as he always did, strongly opposed the policy of demanding rate aid for the Church schools. He fully believed in their right to such assistance, but advocated greater reliance on increased voluntary subscriptions. He believed that rate aid would bring with it an irresistible demand for State interference, which he feared and deprecated.

D. November 7.—'The Conference on Education was largely attended, and the Archbishop-designate kept his brother York in the Chair better up to his duties. His opening speech was good and effective. I protested against rate aid, but the meeting was bent upon conciliating the North, and accepted the resolution. I went down yesterday, but took no part in the details by which they sought to minimise rate aid. The difficulties are all before them, and I shall be silent now that the matter has been decided by the meeting—in a way.'

D. January 11, 1897.—'As Balfour was decisive about rate aid, I wrote to the Archbishop begging that some recommendation should be issued to Churchmen not to waste their strength on that point, but concentrate all on the amount and distribution of State aid; urging too the treatment of endowment as voluntary subscription.'

D. May 2.—'The Academy did not interest me specially, though many pictures gave me pleasure. The dinner was pleasant. I sat between Wharncliffe and Leconfield, and opposite to Sidney Cooper, who made the banquet interesting by sketching at 94, without glasses, a sheep, which he presented to me, and it will remain a record of the occasion. Poynter was an admirable President, and expressed well what he had to say. I was not fatigued.'

The Queen's Diamond Jubilee was celebrated on the

20th of June. My father did not go up for it, but received through Sir Arthur Bigge the 1897 clasp to his 1887 Jubilee medal. The letter enclosing it adds: 'The Queen has gone through all the fatigue marvellously. Everyone thinks Her Majesty looks unusually well.'

D. June 20.—'The 60 years are accomplished. God save the Queen! and give her health and strength for what she undertakes this week, and for the future days of her reign, and may it be prolonged while health and strength are continued!'

D. June 22.—'Our letters from London describe its swarms, and lovely decorations, outbursts of loyalty and love to the Queen. It certainly is an ennobling spectacle, and must have a tendency to unite classes and to kindle patriotism.'

D. June 23.—'All well. The day, the procession, the enthusiasm, all that could be desired. The scenes must have been most impressive at St. Paul's. Here the procession was amusing, if not imposing. A cavalry squadron of bicyclists, about six or seven in number, headed by the curate, school children, societies, and some dressed up, as Indians, most comically. We saw the bonfires; two near enough to show themselves off, and five or six dimly. All were doing their best, and our poor little flag and illuminations were as heartily meant as the best London decorations.'

He was out shooting on his birthday (October 1) till 4 o'clock, 'without fatigue.' Mr. Bayard, the American Ambassador, visited Hemsted on the 5th, and they enjoyed a drive through Cranbrook and Hawkhurst together. 'He has made himself pleasant in spite of his infirmity (deafness) and found resources in the Library.'

D. October 6.—'Mr. Bayard sends me a small book of prayers by old English Divines, with a very cordial note which we appreciate.'

Early in November my dear mother caught cold. It was not apparently a severe attack, but age had for some time been telling upon her, and her slightest ailment now caused anxiety. On March 29, the anniversary of their happy marriage, my father had written 'and so we enter upon the 60th year of married life, and how peacefully!' But they were not destined to see their diamond wedding together. She passed peacefully away on November 13. Although her end was in one sense sudden, none of us were unprepared for such a bereavement. The sad pages of the Diary show with what reverend, and grateful, resignation my father bore the blow.

D. November 13.—'"A quiet night but very tired" is this morning's report. That troubles us, for the dear one, though sleeping fairly and taking nourishment, runs down. We cannot forget her age, which is against a rapid rally, but we hope. I saw that Emy and Katie when they came to prayers looked very sad, and no wonder, for the dear mother felt so weak that it struck herself as sinking. We have telegraphed for Alfred, Gathorne, and Evelyn. God help us all, and her! . . At a quarter to one o'clock she slept into eternal rest, just passed tranquilly away without a pang; a ray of sunlight came through the blinds on to the dear face, and her last sigh was given while Mr. Daubeny read the commendatory prayer. What a fund of love has she taken from the world, and what a blessed memory of unselfishness does she leave! I can hardly realise that the companion of sixty years has left me, but there was no response to my last kisses. She is with "the loved and lost awhile" and her end was as she desired.'

The funeral was in the quiet village churchyard on the 18th.

D. November 19.—'The service was simple, earnest, soothing. Great numbers of relations, friends, tenants, and labourers came. The wreaths were a bower of loveliness round the grave. The day almost like summer. I did not see many of the relatives who came, for I expected them here after the funeral, and almost all remained at the Grange. It was kindly and delicately done, but I should have liked to have said a word of thanks to each.'

D. Sunday, November 21.—'There was a large congregation. Mr. Daubeny said little but of her "going about doing good, and always thinking of others." The simpler and the shorter the allusions the better. She did not need praise. May I follow her example!

'And praying that when I from hence
Shall pass with her into the unknown,
My close of earth's experience
May be as peaceful as her own.'

'*Windsor Castle: November 16.*

'The Queen wishes again to express to Lord Cranbrook how very truly and deeply she sympathises with him in the terrible loss he has just sustained.

'Most truly does the Queen lament[1] for him, as to be parted from the dear partner of one's life is a loss which only those can really estimate who have passed through the same dark waters. The Queen fears the shock must have been very great from its suddenness, as the Queen never heard of dear Lady Cranbrook being ill. She trusts his health may not suffer from it. In conclusion the Queen begs Lord Cranbrook to convey her sympathy to his children.'

[1] These words are not clear. It may read "does she express regret for him." The beautiful handwriting is no longer clear.

The Prince of Wales, now His Majesty the King, also wrote to express his deepest sympathy, and his prayer 'that He who does all for the best may give you strength to bear this heavy blow.' From all quarters, from the highest to the lowest, came words of love, sympathy, and appreciation.

My father turned with a full but thankful heart to his ordinary duties and avocations. The family gathered round him as usual at Christmas, when his Summary of the year contains the following reference to his loss:

D. December 31.—'Of the dear one who is gone from us what shall I say? She was the keystone of the family arch in her time, and leaves an example of what unselfish love can effect for family union. May we all follow it!'

He had given two wells to the parishioners in celebration of the Jubilee and Diamond Jubilee of his Royal Mistress. The screen presented to him in recognition of these gifts is a valued possession of his successor.

D. April 28, 1898.—'A deputation has been here to present an oak screen well carved, as a recognition of the gift of wells to the parish, but the address went into other grounds for it. I am afraid that I made a lame reply, for I had to touch on trying points as the dear mother's name was prominent. There are carvings of the two wells, coat of arms and coronet, with inscription, and a door discloses an illuminated address, and the names of the subscribers, 315 in number. It was a touching tribute, and, after 40 years' residence among the people, a cause for grateful but humble feelings. It was much admired by Stewart and Cicy, who will in their turn value it.'

The next month saw the conclusion of the great career of Gladstone, with whom he had been so long and often in

conflict. It would be idle to deny that my father had always looked upon his policy as fraught with mischief to the State, but he believed that Mr. Gladstone had the power of persuading himself that he was right, and so acting in accordance with the dictates of his conscience. The scattered references to the event which follow are given without strict regard to chronological order.

D. May 18.—'The accounts of Gladstone augur a speedy end, which he and his family desire. Peace be with him!'

D. May 19.—'He lingered until early this morning, but is now at rest. His last hours were apparently untried by pain. One cannot change one's view of him as a politician, but must regret if one was ever unjust to him as a man. May any such wrong be forgiven!'

D. May 21.—'Salisbury moved the address for Gladstone's honour well but in too low and funereal a voice. Kimberley was brief but good. Rosebery was eloquent, but perhaps too long and a little artificial.'

D. May 28.—'Just back from the simple, solemn, and impressive service over Gladstone's grave at the foot of Disraeli's statue. We were kept rather long at the House of Lords, but all moved easily when we once started, and did great credit to the Duke of Norfolk's arrangements, and to the police outside the Abbey, which should be to Sir Edward Bradford's praise. The music was fine, and there was a congregational unison in the hymn. The day was mostly cloudy, but warm and dry.'

D. August 1.—'Alfred's note from London announces Bismarck's death, which would touch German hearts, as he made the German Empire. What a contrast in work between him and Gladstone!—construction versus destruction—one might pursue the subject, and I dare say others

will do so. Historically there will be a vastly different judgment between the two.'

The comparison is further worked out in a separate paper dated December 31 of the same year:

'Curiously enough, my attention has been recalled by Mowbray to the Oxford election of 1865, and I have written my reply to him just before the *Times* arrives with its Chronicle of the ending year. Its Obituary leading notice naturally combines Bismarck and Gladstone, but surely "the two foremost European statesmen" is a conjunction which may be disputed. One made an Empire, the other nearly destroyed one, and was powerful in destruction, weak in construction. The estimates of the two men are for the future. At present the "Bismarck Memorials" reveal the man of blood and iron in his most unscrupulous attitude, and sometimes in his most vindictive humour, and perhaps when the complete character is revealed, as seen from within and without, there will be the record of an individual as unlike Gladstone in statesmanship as in public and private life. So we must await the complete record of a life outwardly most inconsistent, now in a halo of somewhat unreal brilliancy. I admit my prejudice against the politician, to vote against whom I renewed my association with Oxford, having rested satisfied with the B.A. degree. To me the conscience, which, Mrs. Gladstone assured me, always guided him, and allowed him to sleep tranquilly, was not a light but a darkness, and misled him, to the permanent injury of his country. His changes were extraordinary, and yet not even recognised by himself, and the subtleties of the Collier and Ewelme appointments roused an instinctive abhorrence in every gentleman, irrespective of

politics. Will Mr. Morley, who will, I believe, be an honest biographer (though his selection is a strange one), note the coincidence of personal advancement with these new policies? I remember coming over from France with Dean Stanley, and talking to him of the Land Legislation of 1881, after the pledges of 1870 and the intermediate period, and wondering how Mr. Gladstone would in Parliament reconcile them with his action. He said: "Oh, he will never think that he *had* different opinions, and, if taunted, will leave the House with a sense of being unjustly accused." My recent study of Lord Selborne's Memoirs shows me how gradually the eyes of that pure and honest man were opened to the true character of the man whom he had revered, and made it clear that he was not open to his most intimate colleagues, even when he was bent upon a policy which must involve them. In the Irish Church debate I said that he used arguments which might consistently bring about the repeal of the Union, little dreaming that his was the hand that would lay on the table a Bill with that fell object! The calm judgment of Lord Selborne, solemnly repeated in his latest memorials, will need strong advocacy to overthrow its arguments. I feel strongly that the departed statesman has left a history which no right thinker could consistently follow, that his fullest statements are uniformly obscure, if not studiedly so; that his weapon has been the axe, with which he has felled stately trees which can never be replaced, and that he has laid down principles upon which no righteous treatment of men could be founded. Of his private character known to his intimates I will say no ill, and a devoted wife and children are the best witnesses to it.'

D. October 9, 1903.—'John Morley fulfils his promise to send me Gladstone's Life, published to-day. It is a

wonderful tribute from a political opponent, and I value it highly—it shall be an heirloom. I feel sure it will be written with justice and fairness. I have sent him a grateful note.'

Mr. Morley's letter has the following passage: 'I sometimes wonder how Oxford stood him after 1855.'

D. November 28, 1903.—'I finished Gladstone's Life yesterday. Morley has made a wonderful literary work, and told the story as compendiously as it could be told, and in admirable style. Of course his bias appears when one comes to the events in which I took part, but it does not "jar" as he expresses it in a note to me. Of the complex character I am probably not the right person to speak. "De mortuis." Morley does not hide his strange faults, which are in some sense inconsistent with his earnest Christianity. He seems to have felt himself chosen for certain work, and no doubt believed himself to be acting as "called." Still, to the outer world, ambition for official power so to act, might, even without his full knowledge, operate. I am afraid in estimating his character at the time I was too censorious, but I still think most of his career very mischievous to his country.'

A few more extracts will complete my narrative. It will be found that many of them refer to the deaths of friends and contemporaries, which he always noted. When his old friend, the Duke of Richmond, was taken, he wrote to me expressing his thankfulness that 'as his old friends departed he was not left alone, but consoled by the love and sympathy of his children.'

D. May 23, 1898.—'The papers announce Walpole's death in his 92nd year. He chose me as his Under-Secretary in 1858, gave me my start in official life, and was a

most generous Chief. He was honest, and able in his work, and had the highest sense of duty. His gentle manner gave the impression of weakness; and chance of circumstances rather than real failure was the cause of his retirement. He has had a period of oblivion, I fear. He was emphatically a good, right-minded man, and deserved love and honour.'

D. August 3.—'The death of Lord Mansfield revives a link with a past generation. I remember his father in short blue frock, buff waistcoat, and Hessian boots—a fine-looking man.'

D. August 11.—'Curzon's nomination (to the post of Governor-General of India) is a just reward of remarkable merit, and will probably lead to better health than the House of Commons has allowed him. He has been a great traveller in the East, and knows its effects upon him, so that no doubt he feels that he is physically equal to work, for which, judging by the past, he is intellectually qualified. It is a pity that he could not be in the House last night to defend the Foreign Office, but Balfour did it well.'

The Fashoda episode is next alluded to:

D. August 12.—'The Press is apparently fanning the flame for war. For my part I keep my faith alike in the judgment and firmness of Salisbury, and he will not precipitate so awful a calamity without adequate cause. I am an Imperialist and not a "Little Englander," but war between great nations ought to rest upon real, and otherwise irremediable, grievances, insults, or wrongs.'

He rejoiced in the victory of Kitchener at Omdurman in September, and wrote to Lord Salisbury the following warm letter of congratulation:

Cranbrook to Salisbury.

'*September 5, 1898.*

'MY DEAR SALISBURY

'I cannot refrain from congratulating you on the splendid result of your Egyptian policy, which will hush the calumniators who have been traducing you so unreasonably. Anything more unjust than the tone of our Press and some of our party cannot be conceived. Jingoism of the most rampant character, which would have drawn the sword for inadequate causes, has been in the ascendant, while happily you have held a peaceful course of action, with no real injury to the country. If the *frondeurs* had had their way there would have been an outcry against the needless infraction of the peace of the world which might have resulted in the triumph of "little England" and —Harcourt!

'I hope you and Lady Salisbury will come back with vigorous health to the blessings of home and an appreciative country. I do not lose my interest in my old colleagues, nor my confidence in my old Chief.

'Yours sincerely,

'CRANBROOK.'

Lord Salisbury's reply was as follows:

'*September 12, 1898.*

'I am very grateful for your most kind letter of sympathy and congratulation on this great success. I cannot claim any share in it except that I insisted upon the employment of Kitchener, much against the grain of the great men in London. But it was a wonderful display of tenacity and foresight on the part of Kitchener and Cromer. The "butcher's bill" is ghastly. The only consolation is that they were sustaining the worst and cruellest

Government in the world. I hope it will calm some of the feverish aspirations on the back benches. A slaughter of 16,000 ought to satisfy our Jingos for at least six months. Some people say that the strange outburst of unreasoning desire for war which showed itself last winter and spring was due to the intoxication of the Jubilee. If that was so, the victory at Khartoum may even do harm.—SALISBURY.'

D. February 7, 1899.—'I dined with Salisbury, and shook hands with many old friends. I sat between Nelson and Eldon, with Rowton next, and had some talk with him. He rather grieved at the revelation of Disraeli's letter to Peel in 1841, but did not think that "recognition" meant office in those days. Party interpretation will not be so nice.'

D. February 10.—'Both Houses were occupied with Ritualism, and Samuel Smith's amendments were well defeated in the Commons. The Bishop of Winchester (Davidson) spoke with force and great power of argument. London (Creighton) did not please me so well. The Archbishop was earnest and straightforward, and was almost affected to tears. Halifax was true to his principles, and yet, as he told me, he could personally sign a paper which at Ashcombe's wish I had prepared. I think he will advise resort to the Archbishops' Conciliation Court. I spoke shortly against violent accusations, and favourably to "fatherly" attitude to the clergy.'

All through the spring of this year my father was in constant correspondence and personal communication with leaders of both parties in the Church, such as Sir John Kennaway, Lord Selborne, Lord Cranborne, and Lord Hugh Cecil. All his influence was exerted for peace and comprehension. He had written to the *Times* on September 6, 1898, a letter, which concluded as follows:

'There is earnest Evangelical teaching in the High, as in the Low school, and each has learnt from the other. The former has ceased to be "dry," while the latter has been brought to a solemnity of public worship unknown in former days. There are excesses on both sides, but there is a main centre of Catholic Anglicanism which will not submit to the Popedom of Protestant Alliances any more than to that of Leo 13th, for it desires to maintain the unity of creed with varieties of thought and usage, as in times past. May we not trust our Fathers in God, while not plunging loudly into controversial strife, to use more silent and gentler methods for the purpose of ensuring such conformity in all public services to our recognised standard as the laity have a right to find in their churches?'

I may add one or two out of the many entries which show how deeply he felt on the subject:

D. April 20.—'A telegram from Cranborne last night tells me that he is coming to see me on the crisis in the Church. At present I am for leaving all to Archbishops and Bishops, and the Bishop of London at his Diocesan Conference seems to desire it.'

D. April 21.—'Cranborne came later. His object was to urge upon me the advisability of my writing a letter on the Liverpool Bill for enforcing discipline in the Church. I do not quite see the duty, nor my special competence for it. The Bill might fairly be called one for keeping the clergy under penal servitude, and for the abolition of Episcopacy, and I can hardly understand anyone with the ideas of a Churchman of any sort voting for it.'

He eventually drafted the following address to the Archbishops and Bishops, which was very numerously and influentially signed:

'We, the undersigned Laymen of the Church of England, at this time of disquiet, desire to express our confidence in the Archbishops and Bishops, and our sympathy with the efforts they are making to secure the due observance of the rules prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, while not infringing that comprehensiveness which has been characteristic of the National Church.

'We trust that the acceptance by the clergy of their fatherly counsel and judgment may, without the necessity for compulsory processes, bring about peace and harmony, and set free the Church from dissensions which impede the great work at home and abroad for which all her energies are required.'

D. April 23.—'The papers announce Mowbray's death. To me he was a warm and sincere friend. He had good judgment, and always acted with prudence. He was while a party man an independent one, and acted conscientiously. His death removes one to whom I could always resort with confidence. Peace be with him! He leaves none to speak evil of him, for he was generally respected and liked. My contemporaries depart. May I watch and wait in hope!'

D. May 25, 1899.—'The newspapers tell of the wondrous enthusiasm of her people in celebrating Her Majesty's Birthday. It is a striking spectacle of love won by no mean arts. God preserve her in health, wealth, intelligence, godliness!'

He visited her for the last time in July, although they met and conversed at the Palace garden party early in the following year.

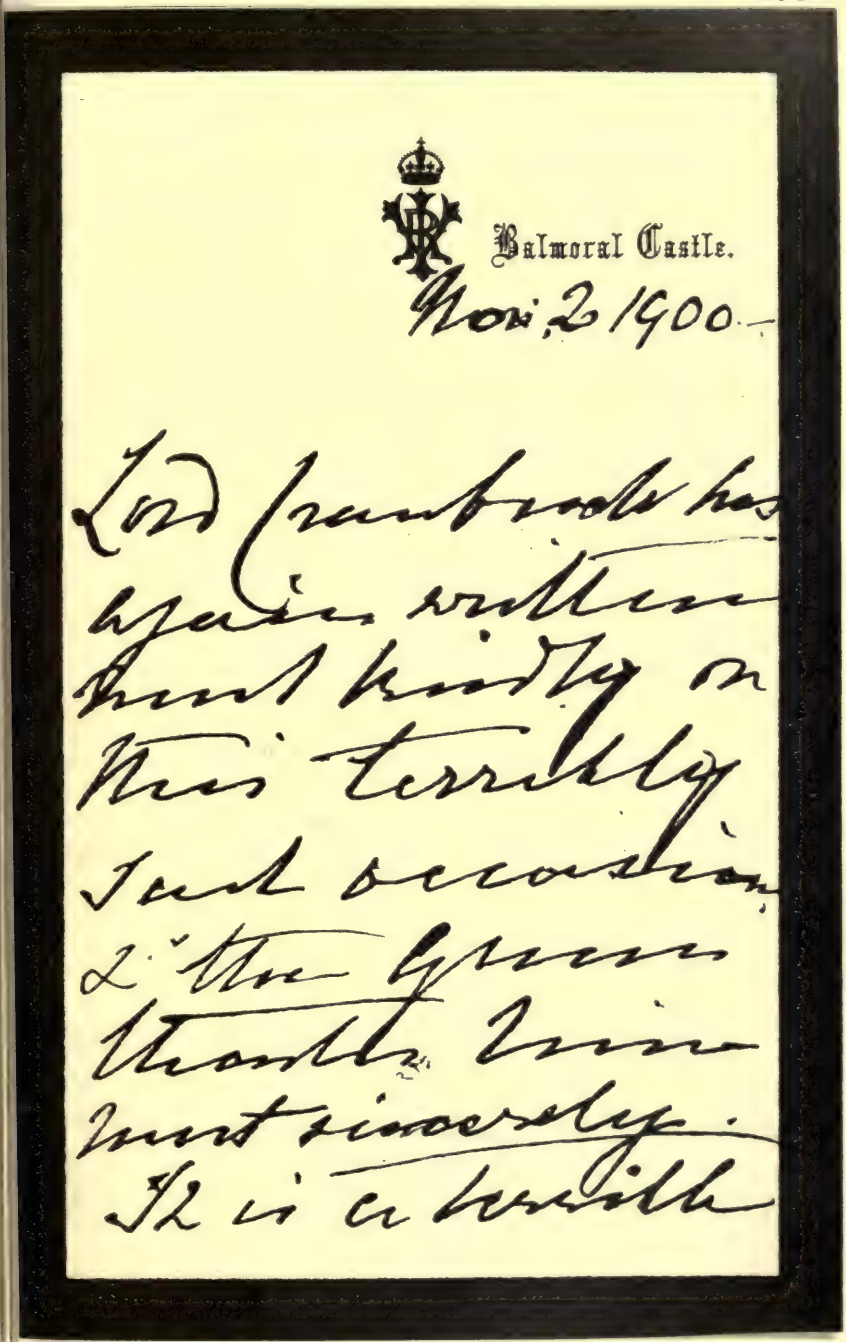
D. July 12.—'Just back from my visit to the Queen. I passed on to Windsor at 6.30, and was in the old

familiar room which brought many reminiscences. The swifts I love were whirling in all directions round my window, and the Park looked attractive. The party at a very late dinner consisted of the Spencers, the Italian and Spanish Ambassadors, and the wife of the former; and my place at table was good, between her and Lady Spencer, both conversational. She spoke admirable English, so I had not to strain my halting French, of which I am ashamed. I felt unequal to talking with the Ambassador, who did not speak our tongue. The Queen was as kindly as ever, and talked to me freely. She is rather bent, but wore no glasses, and memory and freshness of spirit seem as they were wont to be. She informed me of the hopeless illness of the Duchess of Rutland, and her death is in the morning papers.'

He wrote a warm letter of sympathy to his old friend the Duke, which was gratefully answered. The next extract also refers to the Duke of Rutland, who was present to hear his son (Lord Granby) move the Address in the House of Lords at the meeting of Parliament on the outbreak of the Boer war.

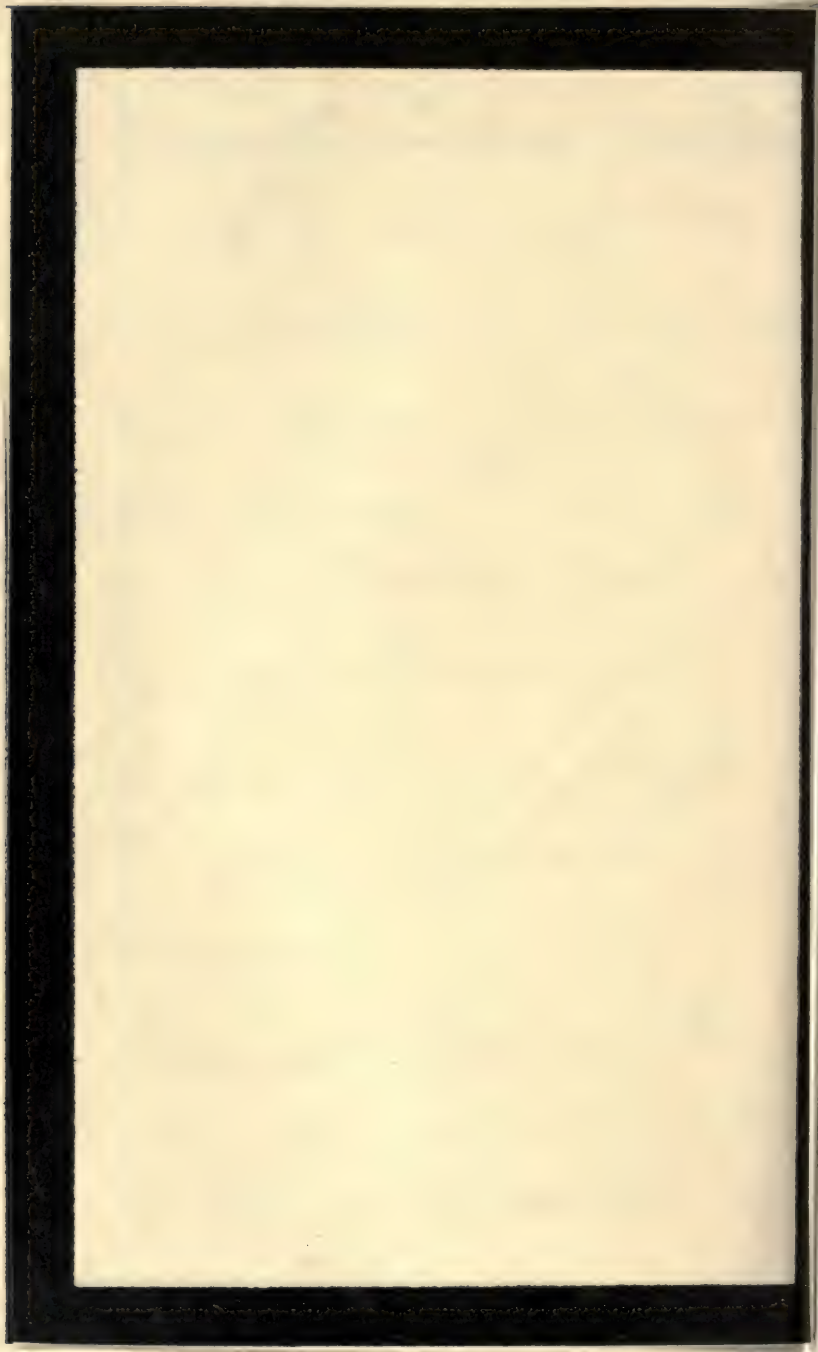
D. October 18.—'Real St. Luke's summer. Met many friends, and received a welcome from them in the Lords at 4. Granby, and Lord Barnard, had but one topic, Kimberley was good and fair, criticising, but not in malice, yet speaking with decision on our duty in the present circumstances. He paid a happy tribute to Rutland, who was there to hear his son, and seemed well.'

D. December 12.—'Penzance's death is at an advanced age, though less than mine. May I be ready! He was an able man, and did some good service with regard to purchase and promotion. Enquiry was needed to let the public see



Balmoral Castle.
Nov. 2 1900.

Lord Cambridge has
again written
most kindly to
Mrs Tertius
last occasion
I "the Queen
thanks him
most sincerely.
It is a terrible



and know the difficulties which Cardwell's unfinished work left to his successor.'

D. December 20.—'Old Lord Tankerville at 89 has passed away. I well remember admiring the handsome Ossulston when I first came to town, with D'Orsay, Lord Gardner, and other swells and dandies of the day.'

During this period his mind, like that of all his countrymen, was much occupied with the Boer war, and its various vicissitudes. He had many grandchildren and relatives in the field, but, more fortunate than many, lived to see them all return in health and almost unscathed. The last letter he received from the Queen is in reply to his condolences upon the sad occasion of the death of the gallant Prince Christian Victor.

'*November 2.*

'Lord Cranbrook has again written most kindly on this terribly sad occasion, and the Queen thanks him most sincerely. It is a terrible grief to us all, and the more heartbreaking as he was, as we all thought, safe after all he had gone through, and we were hoping to see him soon return.

'Our beloved boy was simply adored by his parents, brother, and sisters.'

On December 26 comes the first ominous note of anxiety about Her Majesty's health: 'Salisbury makes me think of "anxieties ahead," among them the Queen's health is not what it was. Alas! May peace and prosperity come back to her later days! She has had heavy trials.'

Lord Roberts's successes in the Transvaal augured a speedy termination of the war, although it was destined to drag on till 1902. The 'Khaki Election,' as it was called,

had given the Government a majority of 134. Lord Salisbury's reply to my father's congratulations is, as he notes, written in a curious tone of bewilderment.

Salisbury to Cranbrook, October 19, 1900.

'Hearty thanks for your kind letter. I am not sure whether I can consider the omens as altogether favourable. The phenomenon is without example that a party should twice dissolve, at an interval of five years, and in each case bring back a majority of more than 130. What does it mean? I hope the causes are accidental and temporary. But it may mean that the Reform Bills, digging down deeper and deeper into the population, have come upon a layer of pure combativeness. If this is the case I am afraid the country has evil times before it. Of course I recognise the justice of the verdict the country has just given: but that the love of justice should have overborne the great law of the pendulum I confess puzzles and bewilders me.'

Early in 1901 he introduced Lord Roberts in the House of Lords on his well-merited advancement to an Earldom. It will be seen that the death of the Queen affected him as a personal sorrow.

D. January 19, 1901.—'I am much pleased at a note from Roberts asking me to be one of his introducers as an Earl. I am naturally proud to be so associated. . . . Hints of the Queen's failing health are now officially confirmed, as her physicians prescribe complete rest. It looks as if the shock of Lady Churchill's death in her house had been the last straw. There will be a deep feeling throughout her Empire, and such bulletins, one fears, are precursors. Let us hope!'

D. January 21. 4 P.M.—'Cicy has just come in,



Photo: G. Glanville.]

TO THE FOURTH GENERATION (1900).

having seen at Cranbrook Post Office the fatal announcement: "No hope. The Queen sinking." May God be with her in her last hours, and give her peace! She has given her best to the country, and has been upheld, so that no one had any idea that the end was so near; and it comes as a shock.'

D. January 23.—'A telegram that the Queen died at 6.30. . . . And so ended a glorious reign, which I prayed might end in external peace—but it has been decreed otherwise in that respect. Peace, I trust, is hers in its highest, best, sense.'

An attack of lumbago of a mild character prevented him from obeying the summons to the meeting of Privy Councillors, or attending the funeral ceremony.

D. February 2.—'For the great solemnity from Osborne to Portsmouth yesterday the sun shone, and the spectacle must have been grand and impressive. Never Queen went to rest with more genuine expressions of sorrow, which affects all hearts, and her greatness and goodness are attested by the Royal and other representation of foreign countries.'

D. February 4.—'All went well on Saturday. A ceremonial more grand, and more grandly attended, has seldom been seen. So one to whom I owed much, and whom I sincerely loved, has passed from her place in the British Empire, which she had done so much to consolidate, with the thorough appreciation of her people, and the respect of other nations. And now I must say "God save the King!" as I began life by doing. God prosper him and his people!'

D. March 8.—'Ingram is Bishop of London, and will bring deep earnestness and piety to his work, and, I expect, good power of administration.'

D. March 13.—'The new Bishop writes to me very kindly, speaking of my note as "fatherly," thinking, I suppose, of my age, and not my expressions.'

He was sworn of the King's Privy Council at Marlborough House on February 9.

D.—'It was thoughtful of the King to send out to some infirm, and me aged, not to kneel, and this he repeated as I stooped to kiss hands, and shook mine with an enquiry as to my health.'

The Archbishop and Mrs. Temple visited Hemsted in the following year. His successor, Dr. Davidson, was also my father's guest later, making the sixth Primate entertained at Hemsted during his life time.

D. January 21, 1902.—'The Archbishop left this morning, seeming to have found pleasure in his rest here. He is less strong, I think, and his eyesight appears to trouble him. He moves slowly and with much caution, especially when steps occur. He was however cheerful, and talked and laughed freely.'

D. January 29.—'Yesterday I attended the House of Laymen. The Archbishop, with a great following of bishops and members of the Lower House of Convocation, came to open the new Hoare Memorial Hall. I had to take rather a prominent part in the discussion of Lay Franchise, as a suggestion thrown out by me met approval, and was eventually moved and carried.'

D. February 14.—'Chamberlain's reception in the City was enthusiastic. They have helped to exalt him by unreasonable abuse, but his merits in the Colonial Office have been great, and his fidelity as a Liberal Unionist

remarkable. For those reasons I have subscribed for his portrait at the Constitutional Club.'

D. April 9.—'Kimberley died yesterday after his long illness. The papers give appreciative notices. He was not brilliant, but he knew much of political conditions, and spoke generally with knowledge of what he was discussing. Personally I found him agreeable and intelligent, but he was rather a monologist, and asked questions without pausing for a reply. He was, after Herschell, their best man in the Lords.'

D. April 15.—'The Budget boldly reimposes the shilling on corn, which will give a handle to partisans, and be swelled into undue importance. I doubt the twopence on cheques,[1] and do not like but do not grudge the income tax.'

D. May 7.—'Written to Cross, who, I see, kept his golden wedding on the 4th instant. We are old friends.'

Peace was signed in South Africa on the 2nd of June. This event was soon followed by the retirement of Lord Salisbury. My father had noted rumours of his resignation in the previous autumn 'which do not affect my opinion that he will stick to the ship till in smooth water.' He had persevered for another year in order to see the war at an end, with gallant indifference to his health.

D. June 3.—'I wrote to Chamberlain yesterday before seeing the terms of surrender. So far as I can judge, no exception can be taken to them. Rebels are left to the judgment of their own colonies. The only doubt I have is as to language, which is a constant source of trouble, as Canada, Wales, Ireland, testify. I have every confidence in Milner and hope he will be the chief agent in resettlement. Kitchener deserves what he will no doubt

[1] This had to be withdrawn.

receive, adequate marks of the gratitude of the King and nation.'

D. July 14.—'Salisbury resigned on Friday, and Balfour kissed hands on Saturday. Great events, not unexpected but a break with the past to me. Balfour was entitled to succeed, and all will acknowledge him. I have written to him and to my ex-Chief.'

D. July 17.—'Salisbury says: "My strength during this year has steadily diminished, and I was no longer capable of doing my duty in a satisfactory manner." It is pleasant to read "I owe you deep gratitude for the steady and valuable support which you unfailingly extended to me for so many years."'

D. October 1 (his 89th birthday).—'It seems a great age that I have attained to, 88; and yet at times I feel a buoyancy which seems almost youthful. Age, however, imposes its needful restrictions, and I strive to keep within them, and thank God for health and strength such as are vouchsafed—intelligence—the senses preserved —a real home of affection—Laus Deo!'

This was the last season during which he was able to indulge in his favourite sport of shooting. He continued as keen as ever till January 27, 1903, when his name appears in the Game Book for the last time. Towards the end of his sporting career he was persuaded to take half days only. A snapshot taken in December 1902 by my second son gives his picture at the covert side.

The remission of the shilling duty on corn in the Budget of 1903 led indirectly to the reopening of the fiscal question. My father, although an old Free Trader, was prepared for some change of policy. A letter to my cousin Laurence Hardy, then and still Member for the Ashford division of Kent, is of interest as giving his views. He always advocated large tolerance of fiscal differences within



THE EARL OF CRANBROOK OUT SHOOTING. DECEMBER 1902.

the party, and supported Unionist candidates irrespective of their opinions on the subject. 'Fiscal questions,' he writes, 'ought not to weaken adhesion on the greater matters.'

D. April 24, 1903.—'Ritchie's Budget is simple, but it looks like surrender to give up the corn duty over which such a big fight was made. The reduction of income-tax is just, and fulfils promise.'

D. May 21.—'Chamberlain has set the world agog on Imperial reciprocity, but so far his language is exaggerated. He felt his way to Imperial against money interests solely. The question is serious and most difficult.'

D. June 10.—'The House of Commons had a strange exhibition. Fiscal party disruption! Beach complaining of four years' useless attempts to reduce expenditure—adhesive to his arguments on the corn tax, but ready to vote for repeal as an impediment to Chamberlain's projects. Ritchie was opposed to them but ready to enquire! Can Balfour find a clue through the maze of error? So far I see no argument for the repeal of the harmless duty which more than served its intention of producing Revenue. I foresee the danger of Chamberlain's proposals, in party dislocation and Liberal party union. Are we to have 1846 over again? I look on rather sadly.'

Lord Cranbrook to Laurence Hardy, June 19, 1903.

'It is not easy for one so outside active politics to form opinions on what is passing which have real value. So much of the influence which acts upon those in power must be unknown. Judging, however, as well as I can, I think that very grave reasons are needed for plunging into

questions which must, or may, destroy the united forces now supreme. Ritchie's move was needless, and it was made without due regard to those who a year ago won Beach a hardly contested battle, not only for temporary, but permanent objects. I cannot understand why, looking at party objects alone, so rash a step was taken; for if a future Government did desire to repeal it they must have found a substitute, and no new tax is popular. Then Chamberlain's action has forced into prominence fiscal questions which may have the terrible effect which followed the disintegration of Peel's majority in the forties. Still it may be questioned if it was not inevitable, even if the announcement was premature. My own impression is that fiscal arrangements which will not seriously affect the price of food at home, and will satisfy each great colony and enable us to deal satisfactorily with foreign tariffs, are all but impossible, but if they can by any ingenuity be realised I am in favour of the policy. The idea of an Imperial unity may possibly move the imagination of the proletariat, but the appeals which will be unscrupulously made to appetite will tell on those not far from the pressure of hunger. It is clear that Chamberlain has staked his career on this big fight, and he will have many adherents. I shall be glad of his victory but hardly expect to see it. I ramble on, and cannot feel that my views are likely to work on those who are in the strife.

'Henry Graham calls my attention to a curious passage in Hansard of 1881 (Vol. 264, 3rd series, p. 1778), when Ritchie and Chamberlain are in the reverse position to those now occupied by them. I cannot refer to it as it is not here, but it may be worth your while to do so.

'Your affectionate uncle,

'CRANBROOK.'

D. August 24.—'I heard at 7 this morning that Salisbury was dead, but learn this morning that he fell asleep at 9.15 on Saturday, just 50 years after his first appearance as a politician and public man. He had a great career and universal respect. He did not try to evoke enthusiasm, but steady and confident adherence, and he in the main secured it. No doubt we shall have much criticism of his life and character, but much of it is quite unknown, and will be guessed, as is manifest in the long biography of the *Times*. I lose one with whom I had cordial relations, which he recognised. R.I.P.'

D. September 17.—'We are startled at the resignations —Chamberlain—George Hamilton—Ritchie. I cannot anticipate, but have a sort of feeling that Chamberlain has good cards in his hands, although he has to lie by at present.'

D. September 27.—'The Duke of Richmond is "sinking fast." Only a few days ago I saw that he had been unwell, but was better again, and his fishing party was assembled as usual. All left except the family. He has been a good, true, genuine, friend to me. We have sympathised politically and generally, and I mourn his loss. God be with him in his last hour!'

D. December 31.—'In reading Trevelyan's "American Revolution" I came upon a laudatory note of my speeches on the Irish Church in a note which I should as soon have expected to find in a history of the '45.[1] I am sure it is kindly meant, and is another proof which many have given of freedom from animosities among English politicians. It was different in Mr. Creevey's time!'

Sir George Trevelyan has kindly forwarded me a letter he received the next day, conveying New Year greetings.

[1] 'American Revolution,' Vol. 2, p. 200.

Cranbrook to Sir George Trevelyan, January 1, 1904.

'In your last work I found a complimentary judgment of what I said so many years ago. It is not for me to estimate its justice, but I am bound to acknowledge its kindness as a new proof among many that political differences, and even warm encounters, do not separate the actors in them in this country. This was impressed upon me by Mr. Morley's gift of his marvellous Life of Gladstone, and may I say that in my retirement it gratifies me much "laudari a laudato," and I thank you for your courtesy.'

D. March 18, 1904.—'The Duke of Cambridge died at 9.35 this morning. I am bound to record my regard and esteem for him, for I found him a cordial coadjutor at the War Office, and most friendly at all times. His view that when I went to the India Office (leaving the War Office) the Army was in a better condition than he had ever known it, would probably not be recognised by many, but it proved that in his opinion I had not been wanting in my task.'

His ninetieth birthday was the occasion of many letters and gifts from his family and others. He much valued the congratulatory verse of one of his nephews, sent with a volume of my 'Autumns in Argyllshire,' hand-bound by a great-niece—a joint gift of his nephews and nieces:

> On this glad day may the blessed love divine
> Rest in its fulness upon thee and thine!
> Few can, like thee, with scarce a half drawn sigh,
> List to the echoes of the years gone by,
> Many though fleeting.
> The beauteous triumph of a race well run,
> A life well lived, in sooth a prize well won!
> Through the long struggle hardly tried and proved,
> Honoured, respected aye, and well beloved,
> We give thee greeting.

His last two years were years of increasing weakness and

1906.

Wednesday July 3. The post arrived at ten
1st 2nd was broken & as I had lunch
& the writing & it was not finished
at I did not dress - Alfred's people
all went away, for good to Cl.
& Cecily with V's two children & Hedy
with her three are our guests till.
This is a very wet morning & dark
Thursday. July 5. After wet showers &
so & I have had a nice drive
& lunch on with Cecily
(C & Cecily went home -
Lawrence is here & Hedy has. He
and Rhonda & Peter have Cecil
tight in Law -

FACSIMILE OF LAST PAGE OF DIARY.
(Slightly reduced.)

infirmity, but his serene patience never flagged, and he loved to gather his children and grandchildren around him. Up to within a few months of his death he enjoyed long drives in the beautiful scenery which surrounds his country home. He kept his Diary till January 1906, and still every page bears witness to his loving thought for others, his faith in the guidance of a good God, his love for his country. His intellectual faculties never flagged, and he maintained his interest in contemporary literature to the end. He survived his ninety-third birthday, October 1, but in the last week of the same month, his family were summoned to his bedside. He sank painlessly to rest on October 30, A.D. 1906. He lies in the quiet churchyard overlooked by the church which he beautified and restored, by the wife he loved so well, leaving an example and blessed memories, which will be ever treasured by those whom he left behind.

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